A HISTORY OF THE EDUCATION OF THE UTE INDIANS, 1847 - 1905

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A HISTORY OF THE EDUCATION OF THE UTE INDIANS, 1847-1905

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to record the events in the development of Ute Indian education in Utah between the years 1847 and 1905. What the Mormon Church and the federal government contributed in this respect through educational contributions at different times especially between the years 1847 and 1905 is of note.

The primary method of research is that of examining original sources of information of Utes. This information was gathered by both library and field work. Library research was greatly assisted by a utilization of the compiled research of the Duke Oral History collection. Copies of each report of the Commissioners' of Indian Affairs were obtained whenever they related to Ute history. Newspapers of the day were thoroughly examined for their content of Ute material.

This study is organized by dividing the fifty-eight years into three specifically designated sections of time. These are 1847 to 1865, 1866 to 1880, and 1881 to 1905. Changes due to cultural traits or influences by white men frequently provided distinct breaks in continuity. Also, early Ute history and customs were examined to establish an insight into their general character. This paper placed particular emphasis upon those who were served in the Uintah-Ouray Reservation.

After a general overview of national policies regarding Indian assimilation from 1847 to 1905, there is a brief treatment of early Ute history.

Reports help explain the problems the early Indian educators faced. Some of these problems encountered were the negative views of the parents, the harsh environment, fear of allotment, and lack of adequate supplies.

It was found that though the educational reformers moved with intense optimism, the returns from these programs were most disappointing in Anglo terms. Nor did the earnest efforts of the Mormon missionaries spark any wholesale conversion to Christianity.

Also discovered was that severalty did not inspire the hunter to become a self-sufficient farmer despite education. Changing education from informal lessons around the Indian campfires to a fairly modern schoolhouse was a formative task. Consequently, despite these odds, fair progress was made overall. To start from nothing and progress as far as the educators and agents did is remarkable.

Once reservations were established, education became more formal. The key man in the reservation schools was the agent. Hampered by great odds, the early employees were poor to say the least. Even the more gifted became discouraged with the irregular attendance, failure to secure proper teaching supplies, the disastrous epidemics which swept the schools, the complete lack of understanding of the English language by the children, or failure to adopt the wisest measures to secure the best results.

As a rule those Ute children who attended regularly improved. In a marked degree they were influenced by the school. Despite this success the settlers were forced to conclude that it would take

generations of education before the Ute could be transformed into a white culture.

In general the Mormon and other settlers in the area gave the Ute the kind of treatment no worse, yet most assuredly no better than other encounters in other parts of the west. Eventually by 1905 a major section of the Utes' reservation was thrown open for white settlement. Once this happened many of the achievements of the early Ute schools were laid to waste. Land speculation and Ute education closely paralled each other.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Inasmuch as very little research dealing with Utah's Ute Indians' education during the years 1847 to 1905 has been done, I selected this topic as my personal study subject.

Indians have been traditionally regarded by white men as persons of little consequence. "Their television stereotype of the war-bonneted villain, the half-naked savage who should be shot at first chance, or the dour, stoic drunkard still persists today."[1]

So it was with the Utes of Utah. They too are generally included as warriors, humorless, incongruous and farcical, just like other well-known tribes. Their language even is said to be full of "hows," "ughs," and words that end in "um."

Even the popular media of communications rarely hints that Indians, too, are real, living persons like other white men. Forgotten are the wise men and mothers who cry for the safety of their children. Young men who sing songs of love and court maidens have passed from memory. No one mentions the leaders, statesmen, and patriots. Today there are college trained Indians, researchers, business and professional men and women, jurists, ranchers, teachers, and political office holders.[2]

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[1]Gregory Crampton, "A Life of Disillusionment, Poverty and Pride Too," The National Observer (May 6, 1968), p. 22.

[2]Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. The Indian Heritage of America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), p. 8.

The stereotype of the "coddled wards of Uncle Sam" frequently obscures truth. Whites have prided themself in their rich educational heritage which proved to enlighten; however, in many Indian cases it proved to enslave. Such was particularly the case with the Utes in early Utah History.

In education some did achieve, but by white standards most of the Utes were poorly educated. This poor educational tradition dates back to the early days when the white man first contacted them. Even since that day the Utes were marked as second rate citizens in education. How well the Indians of Utah faired in their early education should be a subject of great concern to all: educators, government officials, as well as laymen.

The subject of early Indian education on the Mormon frontier deserves more extensive treatment. There have been many articles on the Indians of Utah, but the whole subject of early Ute Indian education has never been treated exhaustively. In fact it has almost been bypassed.

To help focus attention on the honorable as well as less noble efforts in the cause of Ute education, it becomes imperative and necessary that the historical accomplishments representing the Utes' educational offerings be explored, properly assessed and recorded.

THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study is to record the events in the development of Ute Indian education in Utah between the years 1847 and 1905. Furthermore, to throw new light on the most important tasks of Indian

assimilation into the white man's society with or without educational help is my intention. What the Mormon Church and the federal government contributed in this respect through educational contributions at different times, especially between the years 1847 and 1905, is likewise of note.

Assisting the federal government during various periods were two other church organizations; i.e., the Episcopalian Church and the Presbyterian Church. Concerning education, the latter church far surpassed the efforts of the former. These four bodies then furnish the major impetus for early Ute education.

Why the Mormon Church carried education to the local Indian tribes, is based on their religious dogma found in the Book of Mormon,[3] where Indians are thought to be "Lamanite" brethren. No wonder these Mormon believers undertook missionary programs introducing to all Indians the white man's culture. They did this through love, food, and education. Later, after the Utah Indian reservation period began, the federal government, Episcopalian Church, and Presbyterian Church took over most of the responsibility for the Ute when Mormon interests turned toward other pursuits. This attitude developed when the Mormons acquired the recently vacated lands.

In particular this study analyzes the general avenues of approach used, the problems encountered, and the accomplishments achieved which determined the true value of the education. This study will help

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[3]The Book of Mormon. (Salt Lake City: Published by David O. Calder, 1874), p. 561.

preserve the history of the early Ute education for use of those interested in either its history or educational value. It analyzes the merits of the program in acculturation of the Utes. Finally, it will provide a basic knowledge of the problems encountered whenever whites met reds on the fast-moving frontier.

To students in education, as well as laymen, whose interest in history's record of how education moved forward to help the Utes in improving their relationship with their steadily increasing white neighborhood, this study should offer reliable information. Within its pages concerns are included of how and why past and present treatment of Indians reflect educational successes or failures.

PROCEDURE

The primary method of research was that of examining original sources of information on their relation served the purposes of problems listed. The study is organized by dividing the fifty-eight years into three specifically designated sections of time. These sections are 1847 to 1865, 1866 to 1880, and 1881 to 1905. Changes due to cultural traits or influences by white men frequently provided distinct breaks in continuity. Also, early Ute history and customs were examined to establish an insight into their general character.

This information was gathered through both library and field work. The field materials were gathered by interviewing key informants and corresponding with representative people. Library research was greatly assisted by the compiled research of the Duke Oral History collection.

Copies of each report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were obtained whenever they related to Ute history present or past.

The author made several trips to the reservation for the purpose of visiting educational sites, of gaining first-hand appreciation of how the children felt toward education, and of understanding real differences in reactions toward modern educational influences of the white man's culture.

Microfilms were thoroughly examined with particular emphasis applied to the Deseret News, Salt Lake Tribune, and Vernal Express. By this process, the author was able to combine scattered materials, add detail, and in general systematize the data acquired.

DELIMITATIONS

This historical study is primarily concerned with an account of the pertinent events in the development of Ute Indian education in Utah. It places particular emphasis upon those who were served on the Uintah-Ouray Reservation. While a brief discussion includes the culture of the Ute Indians, no attempt is made to explain this in relation to their educational pursuits. For purposes of this study, the examination of the educational program is limited to an examination of the Mormon Church's educational role among the Utes in their removal to the Uintah Reservation. Thereafter, the emphasis tends to shift to the role of the federal government and its effort to provide educational advantages. Although the major emphasis was directed to the period of time from 1847 through 1905, a brief acquaintance of early Ute history and culture

is also provided. No attempt has been made to carry the study further than the year of 1905.

Throughout this paper it is assumed that the genetic capacities of Ute children are approximately equal to those of non-Indian children. The test of this assumption would require data and techniques of another sort.

DEFINITIONS

Ute Indian. The term "Ute Indian" is used to identify the Indians who resided upon the Uintah-Ouray Reservation within our state's boundaries or whose offsprings later resided there during the period 1847 to 1905.

Indian Agent. The individual who was appointed by the United States government to supervise the affairs of one of the Ute Indian tribes during the period 1847 to 1905.

School age. The age prescribed by the Department of Indian Affairs in which children could legally be counted on reservation statistics. These were the ages of six to eighteen.

Mormon. A nickname applied to the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints derived from their acceptance of The Book of Mormon as scripture.

Lamanite. The term applied to the Indians by the Mormons. Mormon scriptures allude to this fact.

Uintah Agency. The agency located along the Duchesne and Uintah Rivers and inhabited eventually by the Utes from the Uintah Valley, the Utah Valley, and the White River Utes from the Colorado Reservation.

Ouray Agency. The agency lying along the bottom lands of the Green and White Rivers and inhabited by the Tabequache (Uncompahgre) band of Utes from the Colorado Reservation.

SOURCES OF DATA

Primary sources of data used in the preparation of the dissertation were:

1. Governor's report of the State of Utah.
2. Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs.
3. Agents' reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from Utah.
4. University of Utah Duke Oral History Collection.
5. Biennial reports of the territorial and state superintendents of public instruction.
6. Publications of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.
7. Laws of the State of Utah and United States of America.

Secondary sources of data for the study were:

1. Master's theses and Doctoral dissertations.
2. Published books, pamphlets and periodicals dealing with education in Utah.
3. Newspapers.
4. Interviews with persons having knowledge of the early education of the Ute Indians.
5. General references.

RELATED STUDIES

Available literature concerning the Utes' education is best described as fragmentary and inconclusive. Materials about the Utes are contained in studies of other Indian groups, however.

Any studies dealing with historical accounts of Indian education are extremely difficult to find. There have been several important books and articles written dealing with Indian education during the reservation period and after, however, very few of these have even attempted to concentrate on the education of the early reservation period or prior to the time when the first white men contacted the red skins.

Lyman Tyler's The Ute People: A Bibliographical Check List has presented historians with the most exhaustive survey of the literature dealing with Spanish-Ute contacts. Many of these sources quoted by Tyler are in the Spanish archives of New Mexico and the National archives of Mexico in Mexico City. Many of these sources regretably were not available for consultation by the author.[4]

One book, completed in 1946, entitled American Indian Education,[5] was available and extremely helpful. This work by a former reservation employee reveals both experience and scholarly training. It points out how most of the Indian schools were mere replicas of white schools and,

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[4]S. Lyman Tyler, The Ute People: A Bibliographical Check List (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1964).

[5]Evelyn Crady Adams, American Indian Education (New York: King's Crown Press, 1946).

therefore, almost meaningless to the Indians. There was no connecting bridge over which two opposing concepts of life could intermingle and advance. This volume is oriented towards the basic theme that land legislation and education run parallel. The data for this study, which provided the most detailed information available on the government program and policies, were drawn mostly from the Department of War, Offices of Indian Affairs and Education, Bureau of the Census, and Civil Service Commission. The study, however, does not place emphasis upon any one tribe nor period.

An investigation written by Anne Marie Smith, Indian Education in New Mexico,[6] was referred to in establishing some type of guideline helpful to follow dealings of our government in Indian education. Here, as in other articles, it is reported that Indian parents could use little if any usefulness of the Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools.

Milton Hoyt in his work, "Development of Education Among the Southern Utes,"[7] writes of early problems of Ute education in the Colorado Territory. Murder and plunder by both white and red led to increased resistance to the white man's ways of life, especially his education. Hoyt reviewed carefully those agencies and forces that influenced the development of Indian education in this territory. His treatise dealt with such factors as: the missionary societies, federal appropriations, the curriculum, early treaties, white land grabbers,

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[6]Anne Marie Smith, Indian Education in New Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1968).

[7]Milton Hoyt, "Development of Education Among the Southern Utes," (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Colorado, 1967).

school houses, allotments, and acculturation.

"A History of Indian Education by the Mormons"[8] by Lawrence Coates places Mormon Indian education both within the general setting of other church-related Indian education and within the historical context of the Mormon settlement of the Western Frontier. The author helps show how the various forces of the frontier forced the Mormons to curtail, to postpone, or to abandon many of their efforts to inculcate the Indians with a new way of life.

The key men in the government's educational relations with the Indians were the agents. Flora Warren Seymour's Indian Agents of the Old Frontier[9] deals largely with these appointed men of the second half of the nineteenth century.

Another capable chronicler of the past "Dawes Era" is Angie Debo. After passage of the Dawes Act in 1887, lawyers, land speculators, and businessmen were ingenious in devising schemes to separate the Indian from any valuables. Her book, And Still the Waters Run,[10] documents to a degree uncomfortable to the white reader the cavalier treatment of Indian rights and property.

One study dealing partially with the time of this particular

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[8] Lawrence George Coates, "A History of Indian Education by the Mormons, 1830-1900" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Ball State University, 1969).

[9] Flora Warren Seymour, Indian Agents of the Old Frontier (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1941).

[10] Angie Debo, And Still the Waters Run (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940).

study was found in Kenneth McClellan's "The Ute Indians and Their Educational Programs."[11] A complete alienation of Indian cultural patterns was found in schools. Many Utes failed to see any reason for education. The author did help the reviewer better understand that the objectives, aims, goals, and procedures in Indian education were somewhat different from those encountered in public education.

Two books and an article about Indian affairs provided some general guidance. The one by Berry, The Education of American Indians,[12] traced the development of the Indian school system of the nation. This included the general functions and services of the various organizations. Ideas concerning finance, disillusionment, legislation, subsidies, and philosophies were discussed.

Lyman's and Denver's book, Ute People: An Historical Study,[13] is actually little more than a collection of papers pertaining to the Utes of Utah. The Uintah School District now utilizes this fine work, which was edited by Floyd O'Neil and John Sylvester, as a basic textbook in certain classes of its schools. To foster pride in Indian achievements and culture, this book traces the various historical developments of the Indians in that area with precise accuracy.

The three bands mentioned by Lyman and Denver on the Uintah

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[11]Kenneth R. McClellan, "The Ute Indians and Their Educational Programs" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1953).

[12]Brewton Berry, The Education of American Indians (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, 1968).

[13]June Lyman and Norma Denver, edited by Floyd O'Neil and John D. Sylvester, Ute People: An Historical Study, 3rd ed. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1970).

Ouray Reservation (Uintah, Whiteriver, and Uncompahgre) were formed by the merging of much smaller groups. This merging occurred first when the Utes acquired horses. A second amalgamation took place when the Utes were forced by the Spanish to retreat into the eastern regions of Utah and western Colorado.

Y. T. Witherspoon's dissertation, "Cultural Influences on Ute Learning" describes the influence of Ute culture upon the academic achievement of Ute children in the public schools in the Uintah Basin. The specific areas which his study considers as having great importance in the Ute child's achievement in the public schools are the economic and political structure, the social relationships, and the world view of the Ute.[14]

The aboriginal economy of the Western Shoshone and presumably the Ute was illustrated in J. H. Steward's "Basin-plateau aboriginal sociopolitical groups." Scarcity of food resulted in tiny tribal groupings, usually containing from six to twenty persons. With the arrival of the horse many were amalgamated into larger bands.[15]

One final work is that by Dale Morgan, "The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah, 1851-1858."[16] For the area of time when the

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[14]Y. T. Witherspoon, "Cultural Influences on Ute Learning" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Utah, 1961), p. 162.

[15]J. H. Steward, "Basin-plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups," (Washington Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938).

[16]Dale L. Morgan, "The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah, 1851-1858," Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 17 (November, 1948), 383-409.

information was extremely difficult to obtain, Morgan opened the passageway for many avenues to explore. He discussed the attempts to establish the first permanent agency. This study, like Lyman's and Denver's and Berry's, was of general assistance in the present study.

ORGANIZATION

To provide background, understanding, and comparison of Utah with the national picture, Chapter II is directed to a review of the basic philosophies of Indian treatment by whites.

Chapter III is concerned with the life of the early Ute; i.e., his customs, legends, religion, relationships with whites, and degree of educational experience.

The remainder of this investigation, except for the concluding chapter, analyses the development of Indian education over three periods of time. Chapter IV covered the period up to removal of Utes to the reservation, 1847 to 1865. The early years of reservation life at the Uintah-Ouray Reservation, 1866 to 1880 follows in Chapter V. Finally, Chapter VI captures a period of growth and broadening of the educational facilities for the Utes. This period continued up to the period of general allotment, 1881 to 1905.

The study is concluded with the summary and recommendations found in Chapter VII.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL OVERVIEW OF INDIAN RELATIONS

The birth of White-Indian relations began with the first frontier, the East coast, and progressed with each succeeding frontier thereafter. It is hard to understand why early Americans faced the West instead of remaining in their acknowledged homeland, but it has been that way from the first. Opportunity and freedom lay in that direction. At first the original colonies, barely clinging to the continent itself, were the frontier. It then became the mountains of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Later, it shifted to Ohio and Kentucky. Then it went on to the Mississippi country. The Missouri and the plains followed. The frontier then settled in the Rockies and finally the Pacific Coast. At all times the first white associations with the various frontiers were the Indians.

"From the first, the outstanding feature of the frontier was the Indian, who was also something of an individualist."[1] Because the frontiersman rarely had the Indian out of his mind, it was inevitable that acts of violence dominated the history of the frontier. It was a bitter adjustment for the Indians to the white. Although many characteristically visualize the Indian with scalping knife in one hand and tomahawk in the other, such was not the case. This image came

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[1]Clark Wissler, Indians of the United States (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1966), p. xiv.

as a climax. Many whites and Indians were friends; however, now and then a white was offended by an Indian and murdered him, or vice versa. Atrocities were committed by both whiteman and Indians. More often than not, however, peace prevailed.

The real climaxes came when the Indians were pressured into giving up their inherited rights to the land. This limited their hunting rights or forced them into reservation life. A further cause of conflict was the breaking of treaty pledges. The advance of the mining frontier into the mountainous regions, the building of trans-continental railroads, and the creation of cattle empires threatened every Indian nation.

When the tribes grew less powerful many conflicts arose. They were overwhelmed. Consequently, the Indians became less of a national concern. Anglos actually began to forget about them and their mounting problems in dealing with reservation life.

I. COLONIAL RELATIONS

The inhabitants of the continent, when Jamestown, Massachusetts Bay, and Charleston were founded, welcomed but then resisted the whites.

One important factor the early colonists and later western pioneers failed to realize was the great cultural diversity of the Indians. As an example there were over 200 Indian languages spoken by the 600,000 Indians in the continental United States.

This bewildering cultural diversity and political fragmentation rendered the Indian incapable of withstanding the pressure of the new settlers. Unable to unite, tribes even allied against each other. When a colony engaged in war against a particular tribe, it was a rare

detachment which was without Indian auxiliaries. Indians ignored racial solidarity and were found fighting on both sides. Had they been able to unite, Indians might have tired out the settlers in their efforts to colonize the United States.

In the battle for colonial expansion, Indians generally united with the French. Francis Parkman's dictum that "Spanish civilization crashed the Indian, England scorned and neglected him, while France embraced and cherished him," has some validity. The English lust for land which embittered their relations with the Indians correlated most unfavorably with the French concentration on the fur trade. The Englishman transgressed Indian land. They drove the game away. They viciously slaughtered the red man himself. The French, on the other hand, even married natives to solidify their trapping enterprise.

White colonists did profit from advice of Indians. One was John Smith in Virginia. Indians introduced tobacco, meize, and chartered new land. They used other brotherly pursuits to help the English plant a strong foothold on the land. Unfortunately this early friendship gave way to bitterness and hostility. Whites generally followed the practice of Massachusetts Bay Colony and were unwilling to compensate the Indians for hunting grounds. They recognized only land that had been cultivated. Fraud, pressure tactics, and booze ran rampant at treaty time which later erupted in what whites called atrocities--scalping, torturing, and killing.

When the defense lines were drawn, many an Indian nation recorded far more white casualties than they suffered, but there seemed to be an endless stream of colonists to replace their fallen white friends.

In such wars as the King Philips War in New England (1675-1676), there was a valiant effort to stop the advance. The Iroquois War (1684-1689), however, was a trade war. The English and Iroquois fought the French and other tribes for control of the fur trade. In the King William's War (1689-1697), Queen Anne's War, and the French and Indian War (1754-1763) Indians became victims of reigning rivalries.

One of the tragedies was that the experiences of the Indian was not really recorded and therefore lost while that of their white counterparts are exactly opposite. The atrocities committed by red men were absorbed by colonial readers. "Heathens," "savages," and "infidels" became crywords of theearly colonies. Sermons were preached every Sunday speaking of the wretched creature that even Jesus Christ turned away from.

Later, as the colonies began their fight for independence, the Indian problem became acutely real. It now had outgrown local interest and became an imperial issue. In fact, Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence charged George III with using Indians against the frontier settlements.

Therefore, Indian opposition to the colonies in the revolution forecast that white pacification efforts would deteriorate from the start of this new government. As Indians were driven from their rightful lands, their only white acquisitions seemed to be new vices such as drunkenness, and new diseases like measles, smallpox and chicken pox.

II. BEGINNING OF A NEW NATION

The youthful government was unwilling to forget its earlier experiences with the red men. It early assigned to itself control of all aspects of Indian affairs. This included the purchase of Indian land and the control of Indian trade.[2] Later, the Constitution did it implicitly through reservation of the treaty making power to the federal government.[3] In fact, treaties remained the means of dealing with the tribes until 1871.

Concerning education, the Act of March 3, 1819 set up a fund of $10,000 per year to educate and civilize all the tribes. Yet this, too, was a very small amount. Most of it went to missionaries to run the schools. The former fears manifested itself in education also.[4]

Gradually, a tax program of policies for Indians began to emerge. Through a series of trade and intercourse laws, regulations were laid down for defining Indian country and controlling contracts. Agents were appointed and these in turn were grouped under a superintendent. The superintendents reported to the Secretary of War, who by 1832 had a Commissioner of Indian Affairs to handle these less important matters. When the Department of the Interior was created in 1849, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred to it.

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[2]Samuel Eliot Morrison, The Oxford History of the American People (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 276.

[3]Ibid., p. 305.

[4]U. S. Statutes at Large. Treaties and Proclamations, Edited by Richard Poters, George Minot, and George Sangor (Boston: 1819).

III. INDIAN REMOVAL

An Indian "Mecca" was created by the federal government during the presidency of James Monroe. Monroe transmitted to Congress a request for the setting up of an Indian country saying that he was deeply impressed with its "very high importance in our Union." Consequently there came removal and subjection of almost 100,000 Eastern Indians to reservations running from the Texas border to the Fox River in Wisconsin.

The deterioration of the fur trade and the speculation and theft of home-seeking frontiersmen prompted this removal. Between 1783 and the passage of the removal bill approximately seventy-five treaties of purchase were negotiated with the tribes.[5] The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 professed that prior to white occupancy the Indian claims had to be extinguished, but this formality seldom inhibited squatters from abstracting choice pieces of real estate. Military and naive political officials trying to protect Indian rights, were pressured by politicians and the settlers themselves.

Red betterment was always subordinated when it conflicted with that of the white voter. Andrew Jackson illustrated this sentiment in dealing with the Cherokee nation. Georgia held a lottery to dispose of Indian lands. Since no friends in power appeared to help them, the Cherokee were forced to accept removal. The Five Civilized Tribes were forced from their lands to an area west of Arkansas Territory,

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[5]Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. The Indian Heritage of America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), p. 173.

later to be called Indian Territory. Periodically many other tribes such as the Creek, Choctaw, and Sioux were re-settled in other western areas. A tragic result manifested itself since these Indians actually were in turn trespassing on other tribes domain necessitating a negotiation of new agreements. Consequently many a "Cherokee Trail of Tears" flowed before Indian removal was completed.

During this unwilling removal with its distant and exhausting migrations, Indians experienced hunger, sickness, and exposure. Naturally this caused great suffering and death. The Cherokee removal saw hundreds die: Consequently in the Black Hawk War illustrated how they would accept their new land assignments.

The incompatibility of the red and white cultures and the existence of a dictatorial system enfranchising land-hungry settlers, but not the red man whose land they coveted, created the Indian removal policy. Across the Mississippi, they would become, it was expected, happy contented Christian farmers.

IV. INDIAN "MECCA" ABANDONED

The accelerated development of the West during the 40's and 50's destroyed the Calhoun-Monroe program of stable Indian land. Although the Indians were only a memory in most areas east of the Mississippi, eager white hypocrits began sifting into the Indian promised land. Red claims were once again subordinated to the white man's needs.

As a result in 1849 the government transferred the Indian Office from the War Department to the Interior assuming that civilians could be more sympathetic to Indian problems than could the army.

This department accepted unheard of problems when the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo climaxed the Mexican War. Approximately 200,000 square miles and 200,000 Indians, including Utes, were added to the United States. Consequently, military defense to control Indian depredations against invading whites was hampered to say the least. To alleviate these catastrophes, another series of treaties were made. Between 1853 and 1856 there were 52 treaties enacted.

The pressing frontiersmen and settlers who followed Indians into the West, required that they be placed on more closely defined spaces. Since new negotiations were created by such things as the gold rushes of 1849 and 1859, the Indian reservations grew even smaller. Treaties were justified in terms of the benefits to accrue to the Indians. Arbitrators said they would no longer have surplus land to arouse white cupidity. Also it was reported that the money obtained would be used to further their own civilization.

However disappointed gold seekers remained to occupy Indian areas and destroy their livelihood. Some leaders of territories, when the inevitable wars arose, even deviated from humane warfare into slaughter proclamations ordaining all citizens "to go in pursuit" of the Indian "to kill and destroy."[6] At times tribes would surrender to white demands and yet atrocities were still committed. Such instances were the infamous Sand Creek massacre of Cheyenne and Arapahoe and the Nez Perce affair. Dastardly dealings like this had

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[6]LeRoy R. Hafen and Carl Coke Rister, Western America, 2nd Ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 478.

the commissioner of Indian Affairs attribute these to the rapacity and rascalty of frontier settlers, whose interests are to bring on a war and supply our armies at exorbitant prices. Naturally, atrocities were committed in equal number by the red men.

It was this territorial inability to contain its settlers, together with the unrealistic efforts to convert nomad Indians into peaceful farmers which set the stage for many a white demise at the hands of the Indians.

This same situation became apparent with Roman Nose's Cheyenne, Cochise and Geronimo's Apache, and Walkara's Utes.

V. PEACE POLICY

The end of the War Between the States brought a profound change in Indian relations. The "peace policy" was applied to all Indian nations and a benevolent government program materialized. Defeated tribes were sent to now smaller reservations. Schools were set up for the children. Rations were issued to those reservations containing no game. This policy of 1869 lasted approximately ten years.

Churches were solicited for assistance. This procedure helped rid the service of much of the political dishonesty, but church officials knew little of their jobs. Even though taken over by the various denominations, the army remained responsible for protection. Those tribes, therefore, which refused to go to the reservation provided them were either driven there or exterminated. However, neither this so-called "Quaker policy" nor the abandonment in 1871 of the 370

treaties this policy set up solved the problems of administration.

VI. RESERVATION AND ALLOTMENT PERIOD

The purpose of the reservation period was to make Indians self-sufficient (by farming) and amenable to federal control. Officials were certain it would work. In defense they said it was based on the "Protestant ethic" that ownership of real estate was a moral good. After all had not this principal provided the settler with thrift, industry, and ambition?

There was much coercion since the tribes were not yet prepared for reservation life. The policy continued however. The Medicine Lodge Treaties of 1867 provided what the nomads had repeatedly said they did not want; i.e., fixed homes, farms, agricultural implements, and white men to teach them how "to walk on the white man's road."[7] To the government's dismay, the Western Indian, by habit and heredity, was a hunter not a cultivator.

A major event did help solve the Indian nonacceptance. The "iron horse" lumbered its way west bringing more whites to the open acres. In the process they killed off much game and weakened the strongest of tribes. Even more important troops could be moved far more efficiently and effectively into Indian areas of revolt.

Indian tribes began to decline in importance as a formidable barrier. Along with this their capacity to resist did likewise. On the reservation however, the rate of acculturation did not increase

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[7]Western America, Ibid.

proportionally. Reformers blamed the problem on the Indian three sisters of rebellion: communal ownership of property, chieftainship, and native religions. The whites then tried to strip even self-dignity from the Indians. New oppressions often took the form of alienating by fraud and chicanery large areas of land to speculators. The first general application of this treachery came with the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887. This act provided allotment of lands to individual Indians with any land remaining after allotment being sold to whites. The proceeds were to be used in civilizing the allottees through education. This act overlooked the Western Indian's trait: that he takes "no thought for the morrow," and is easily tempted to sell everything for a quick drunk.

As the problem of control became less important, chiefs came to be considered as vestigial remnants of barbarism which should be eliminated. Chiefs were now bypassed and agents dealt with the tribe through councils either elected or selected. Even law and order was delegated to other sources.

To help eliminate religious dogma from the tribes, efforts were made to help educate a new generation of Indians at private and government schools. The boarding school came into existence as a utopia for isolating the youth from the corrupting influences of his elder's environment. One of these first attempts was established by Captain R. H. Pratt in 1879 at Carlisle Indian School. Even here the returns were very disappointing in comparison to the education white children were obtaining.

VII. A CENTURY TURNS

By 1900 the Indians had reached a new stage in their development. No longer the war clouds hung over the land and no longer did the diplomats have to weasel land cessions from them. From this time on the pages of history become relatively silent, the out of sight out of mind doctrine. They truly become "Vanishing Americans."

This study only covers through the year 1905 because 1906 witnessed the passage of the Burke Act. The Burke Act was designed to alter the Dawes Act by reducing the trial period and only granting citizenship to Indians after they won full title to their property. This was also the year which saw the federal government taking over all school systems.

VIII. SUMMARY

The entire history of Indian affairs has been dotted by incompetent agents, unrealistic treaties, and total capitulation of the Indian tribes to the white man's methods of civilization.

To the wandering huntsman of the West, the transition to reservation life was disastrous. Because of this fact, most education programs designed to cultivate white cultural traits, it would seem, were doomed to failure before they ever began.

CHAPTER III

EARLY UTE HISTORY

The Utes were a people whose legends were steeped in tradition. Even their origin was explained in like manner. One such legend maintains that before the earth became populated, their God, Suncwani, used a large bag to store some freshly cut sticks. One day the mischievious Coyote could stand the suspense no longer and while Suncwani was away opened the bag. To his amazement many different speaking people scampered out and scattered to the far corners of the earth. Naturally, Suncwani was displeased wanting to distribute the people equally. He realized this unequal distribution would bring war. Of the people remaining in the bag, one would be called Ute, he said, and they will be "brave and able to defeat the rest."[1] So they were cast down where Ute folklore strongly implies the Utes have always lived.

Although very little is known about the regional cultural variations during aboriginal times, there is strong possibility that the larger concentrations of big game in western and southern Colorado may have fostered a concentration of hunting, while the lack of big game may have fostered gathering in the Utah area.

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[1]Robert H. Lowie, "Shoshonean Tales," The Journal of American Folklore (New York: 1924, Vol. 37, pp. 2-4.

[2]Witherspoon, loc. cit., p. 17.

Since the Utes were considered of the Shoshonean tribes, their home was in the Great Basin Area and southern California.[3] They adopted many plain's habits. Unlike the Cosiutes they took to the horse and became a hunter. The horse was the central factor in the development of a Ute culture resembling the Plains cultures. It made them mobile and able to concentrate in larger bands. This in turn brought with it a much more cohesive political structure, minimized prior differences, and made them more oriented to hunting and raiding.

Owing to the vast extent of country occupied by the Uto-Aztecan speaking Shoshone tribes, which ranged from timbered mountains to desert plains, their habits and customs varied so as to make seemingly unrelated tribes.

The Utes were members of the Shoshonean group. They were, however, culturally derived from a Basin prototype. Lowie places the nucleus of the Shoshonean family in the Great Basin and southern California area. He believes that three prereginated Shoshonean tribes, including the Ute, Wind River Shoshone and Comanche "ultimately came into the Plains as relative newcomers from the west." This was about 1300 A. D. to 1600 A. D.[4] In agreement Kroeber considers the Ute tribe

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[3]The Great Basin is the area of internal drainage which includes eastern California, most of Nevada, western Utah, part of southern Oregon and Idaho and southwestern Wyoming. That position the Utes occupied ranged from high mountains of western Colorado to flat deseret in Utah.

[4]Robert H. Lowie, "Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 20 (1924), p. 191.

culturally akin to the Great Basin group with a recent overlay of Plains Indian features.[5] Their northern and eastern brothers, the Shoshone, Bannock, and Comanche were also hunting Indians.

Most of the western tribes of the stock, notably the Piute, inhabited the inhospitable desert region which afforded scant subsistence in the way of seeds, berries, roots, fish and small game. Around the shores of the Great Salt Lake were Cosiutes. Other related tribes were the Serrano, Gabrielino and Luiseno of lower California, Hopi of Arizona, and the former Aztecs of Mexico.

Many centures ago the Shoshonean natives of what is now Utah split into three major groups. The early settlers found southern Idaho and northern Utah occupied by the Shoshone, western Colorado and eastern Utah by the Utes, and southwestern Utah by the southern Piute.

Stewart and Witherspoon suggest the following Ute band designations and locations for the early historic period.

Moanunts: Also called Moavinunts, Uintahnunts, Pagonunts, Pagogowatsnuts and Pavogagivunsin. They were located on the eastern and western slopes of mountains near the pass at the head of Salina Canyon, Utah.

Tompanowotsnunts: Also called Uintahs, Pagowadziu, Lagunas, Timpanogotzis, Timpanois, Fisheaters, Paguwadzui. They were located

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[5]A. L. Kroeber, "Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America" (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 38 (1947), p. 24.

on the shores of Utah Lake and adjacent canyons.

Pahvant: Also called Pahvantinunts, Tirangapui, and Pavanduts. They were located in western Colorado.

Mowataviwatsiu: Also called Uncompahgre, Sabriaganos, and Mowatawiwadziu. They were located south of Saguache, Colorado.

Mowatchi: Also called Mukuachis, Moache, and Mowats. They were located on the headwaters of the Rio Grande River near Conejos, Colorado but moved to New Mexico.

Wimonuntci: Also called Wimonuntsi, and Wimnenuted. They were located in the La Sal Mountains and adjacent area in eastern Utah and western Colorado.[6]

Today there are three different groups of Ute Indians. The Southern Ute today live near the Bureau of Indian Affairs agency at Ignacio, Colorado. The Ute Mountain-Ute are located near the Bureau subagency at Towaoc, Colorado. The Ute tribe of the Uintah Ouray reservation is settled in the Uintah Basin in Utah.

The Utes not only felt a difference in contrast to other tribes, but so did their early traders, the Spanish. Spaniards referred to the Yutas Nations in opposition to the Apaches. These people were found to be a "hardy, vigorous race, having high cheek bones and a deep copper-colored skin."[7]

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[6]Stewart, loc. cit., p. 236-237; and Witherspoon, loc. cit., p. 14-15.

[7]Lyman S. Tyler, "Before Escalante" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Utah, 1951), p. 31.

I. UTE DRESS

Ute dress differed from adjoining tribes. The men braided their hair behind their ears in cues while the women only parted theirs in the middle and wore it short. Many of the males plucked their eyebrows and most were beardless. Although the men usually wore only moccasins and a breach cloth, in colder weather robes of the various animal species were utilized for physical comfort. In colder months they wore semi-tailored garments of the plain's Indian style and a type of leggins made of skins. The women wore loose ankle length gowns of skins or fabric held close to the waist by a girdle.

II. SHELTER

Ute shelter was similar to the Plains Indians. It consisted of a conical tipi of skins draped over four to fifteen wooden supporting poles. The height was about fifteen feet and thirteen to fifteen feet in diameter. This proved useful in being able to easily move it in the pursuit of game. At times other shelters such as sage brush, lean tooes, adobe huts, or other various accommodations were used but generally the tipi was all they wanted or needed.[8]

The winter encampment was the only time when families were even in fairly close association for any extended period of time. These encampments were made in sheltered spots close to where food had been stored. Families tended to return to these sites year after year

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[8]Tyler, Ibid., p. 31.

although variations in food supplies caused occasional shifts.[9]

Generally the tipi of the leader was the camp center. It was slightly larger than the rest of the tipis and it was here that the older, more experienced men met to discuss the events of the day and plan the immediate activities.

III. FOOD GATHERING

The scarcity of food made it impossible for large groups to concentrate except during the winter encampment. When large game was the quarry, combined efforts of the men from several families might increase many times the amount of food secured.

The able bodied in the group sought food while the old and infirm cared for the children.

The Ute's favorite food consisted of fish. They also feasted on deer, elk, rabbit, antelope, mountain lion, wild sheep, and dog. Much of their diet was made up of wild vegetable products. Seeds, roots, and stems of many plants such as sunflowers, goldenrod, sego lily, camas roots, cactus plants, and others were dug up and saved for winter months. Pinenuts were considered a delicacy.

When food gathering was scarce, the Utes learned the emptiness of hunger and were forced to eat grasshoppers, ants, snakes, and lizards. These crawling creatures were even at times considered quite desirable. Grasshopper gruel or grasshopper cake became a great treat especially for the younger ones.

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[9]Witherspoon, loc. cit., p. 25.

In all cases, the food belonged to the tribe. Generally when one ate, all ate. When one starved, all starved. However, in starvation periods both infants and the infirm were abandoned to perish.

IV. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

The Ute religious beliefs differed from that of many of their red brethren. Many of the fictitious gods and signs were not adhered to. Several animals were upheld with great pride, but chief among the animal deities was the coyote. If a coyote happened to be caught in a rabbit drive, he was released immediately even if it meant the loss of several valuable rabbits.

Seagulls were regarded as birds from the mystic world of the Great Spirit. One can possible understand this from their cries which echo like a call from the beyond.

Several ceremonies occupied their time such as the Sun Dance. This event was used in July for the purpose of obtaining miraculous relief from physical ills. They also believed in life after death, and with death a brave's slave, squaw, or favorite horse accompanied him to the happy hunting ground.

V. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Kinship was the major criterion by which a person decided which family to live with and even this bond was frequently ignored. Households were made up of from six to ten persons. Polygamy and polyandry were known but not common.

Witherspoon documents that the "family was bilateral, with both sexes having equal status. The primary motivations toward marriage were self-preservation (mutual aid in the food quest), the necessity of caring for children, and less importantly, sex privileges. Divorce was common, but very few people remained single long."[10]

Leadership in family units was generally assumed by the most capable, usually the father. His main responsibilities were to find food, ensure against danger, and let others rely on his experiences and ability.

Opler feels that the old family organization gave way to a period of band organization and became dominated by powerful war leaders just prior to the white entrance into Utah. The leadership and authority of the chief's council was respected only so long as their decisions turned out well. They did not concern themselves with affairs within the family but left this up to the individual families.[11]

Elders were given a great deal of respect and love by the younger generation; however, when they had outlived their ability to produce, they were felt to be parasites. Hence, these individuals were either treated harshly or left behind without much chance of survival.[12]

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[10]Witherspoon, loc. cit., p. 26.

[11]M. K. Opler, The Southern Ute of Colorado (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940), pp. 163-170.

[12]Lyman S. Tyler, "Before Escalante" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Utah, 1951), p. 12.

Parents were exceedingly kind and permissive to their children very rarely whipping or punishing them. No matter what the age the parental role was one of advising and admonition and seldom one of force. Any other method, they said, would destroy the child's spirit. Therefore, children were expected to listen to their parents, but no one was much surprised if children did not heed parental advice.

Again Witherspoon points out that "Ute education is based on the notion that children must be told over and over again over a long period of time. The child is not expected to learn the first or second time he is told. The child is allowed to express himself freely to the point of striking or kicking the parent. The parent expects that he will have to tell the child over and over again, and that the child will not know enough to appreciate such tutoring until he is old enough to acquire wisdom. This is not expected to occur until the person is well along in his twenties."[13]

For an Indian to cause the death of another tribesman, even through some accidental negligence, the dead warrior's family could demand the death of the guilty man or one of his relatives. If the killing was murder, however, the dead man's family had the right to slay the murderer or one of his relatives of equal age, value, and strength. It was no wonder that when a white wronged or killed a Ute vengence was often sought.

The winter encampments were periods when most of the social activities were encountered. Other meetings of like nature arose when

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[13]Witherspoon, loc. cit., p. 68-69.

an unexpected surplus of food such as a large harvest of pinenuts or a communal hunt provided enough food for a large group. Feasting and visiting were the major social interactions at this time.

VI. EARLY ACCOUNTS

The earliest actual reference to the Utes is evidently found in the report of Zarate Salmaron in 1624. The Utes were trading the products of the plains to the Pueblo Indians and had presumably been doing so for a long time. By 1640 the Spanish missionaries began to encounter the Utes consistently recording their southern boundary along the San Juan River.[14] This is where the boundary was shown by the map of Don Bernardo de Mieraey Pacheco, cartographer for Escalante in 1776.

G. O. Lang attempted to identify the bands visited by Escalante. The first of the bands encountered in southwestern Colorado were the Yutas Muhuachis and the Yutas Tabehuachis. These are the Mowaci and Taviwatci of today. The next group were the Sabuogana on the San Francisco River. These are the Uncompahgre today. The third group along the Yampa River in Colorado was the Comanches Yamparicas or the Whiterivers of today. The modern Uintah band was formed by the amalgamation of the Moanunts and Tompanowotsnunts.[15]

Many of the early explorer's descriptions of the Ute people did not really describe the Utes at all, but that of the Gosiute or

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[14]Omar C. Stewart, "Ute Indians: Before and After White Contact," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 34 (Fall 1966), p. 48.

[15]G. O. Lang, "A Study in Culture Contact and Culture Change: The Whiterock Utes," Anthropological Papers #15 (1953), pp. 58-60.

Piute. Such was that of W. Z. Ferris in 1834 in which he called them the "most miserable human beings we have ever seen" and although Madame Audobond did not visit she wrote of them surviving by eating dirt.[16]

Even if these descriptions were partially true in their early stages, as soon as the Utes became mounted they were most assuredly worthy of the respect and admiration of any adversary. The Spanish began to trade horses to the nomadic tribes before 1626. The annual fair at Taos was a major source of supplies. It is probable that the Utes had horses and were riding them by 1650.

Utes quickly became reputed to be the best fighters in the entire West. Their skill on horseback surpassed even that of the feared Comanche. By the time of the visit of Etienne Provost in 1824 or William H. Ashley in 1825, the Ute were well known. In 1832 Antoine Robideux founded the important Indian trapper-trading post, Fort Wintey (Uintah), near Whiterocks. At this time he found the Utes to be a power to reckon with.[17]

Although Witherspoon does not feel the Utes were a tribe to reckon with, two more notable historians, Tyler and Opler most assuredly do. They present as evidence the adventures of such notable

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[16]J. Cecil Alter, Utah: The Storied Domain (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1932), p. 32.

[17]Albert Reagen, Papers on American Archaeology and Ethnology. Reprinted from Northwest Science, Vol. 7, No. 3 (September 1933), pp. 55-56. Fort Robidoux (Uintah) is said by the Indians to have been on Big Tom's allotment, about a mile and a half east of the present Whiterocks post office and the Uintah Boarding School.

war chiefs as Walkara and Black Hawk.[18]

Jedediah Smith encountered a large tribe of Utes at Utah Lake in August of 1826. Captain John C. Fremont next visited the Utes in 1843 on his way to Oregon and Washington leaving a record of his dealings with the Indians. These and other explorers printed reports the Mormons were able to lean heavily on as they made their preparation and actually crossed the plains to Utah.

Although living by "an eye for an eye," the Utes received guests warmly. They were known to be hospitable, generous hosts sharing their last meal or squaws with their friends. According to Bancroft:

> At first these savages manifested fear, but when assured that the strangers had not come to harm them, and were in no way leagued with the dreaded Comanches, they welcomed them kindly and gave them food. They were simple-minded and inoffensive, these native Eutas, very ready to guide the travelers witherso they would go.[19]

The Ute were sportsmen of the first order rejoicing in foot races, wrestling, gambling, and all other sports dictated by their outdoor environment.

VII. SLAVERY

Utes became expert slave traders rivaling even that of the southern slave traffic of the colonial south. Because of this lucrative trade, the Utes were well supplied and skilled in the use

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[18] Witherspoon, loc. cit., p. 34.

[19] Humbert Howe Bancroft, History of Utah, 1540-1887 (San Francisco: 1809), p. 12.

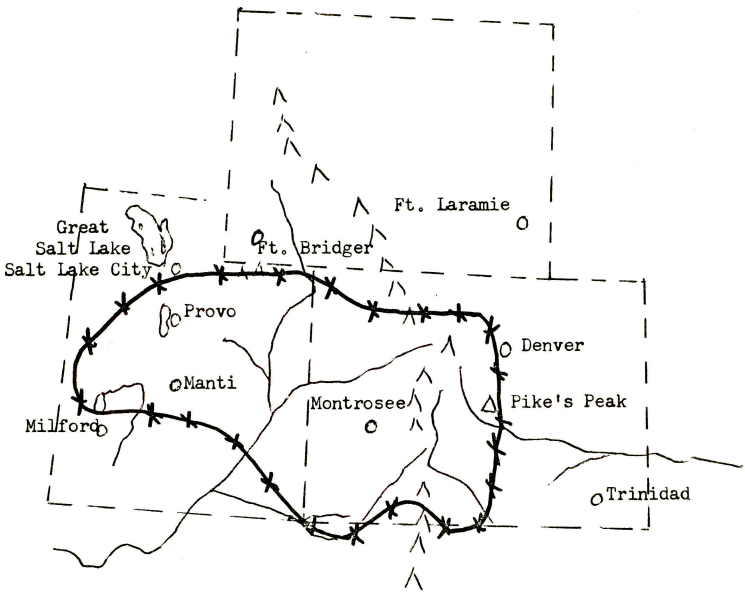

Figure 1. Map of Early Ute Lands

of firearms. Armed they had a tendency to become impudent and warlike at times therefore expanding their doctrine of retaliation even more so.

VIII. SUMMARY

Ute cultural background and tradition exemplified the best in the wandering nomad of the Plains Indian tribes. He, likewise, was reluctant to change and firmly opposed the white assimilation.

Several of his philosophies would make him alien to white educational attempts, but none was more so than the parent to child relationships. White education operated on a reward and punishment system. Ute children simply were not punished.

A Ute child lived to roam the open countryside. Such could not be done in the confines of a schoolroom.

Even the white food served at Indian schools would not fit the palate of these red children.

The entire makeup of the white man's school would be challenged by every bone and fiber of the Ute child. The future was not educationally bright for the Utes of Utah.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY UTE EDUCATION IN UTAH, 1857 to 1865

One idea seems to have influenced relations with the Indians in Utah. This was that white culture and religion are superior to or more acceptable than the culture and religion of the Ute Indian. Consequently, the Mormon could never quite understand why their desire for enlightening the Ute through educational pursuits was not readily adopted.

The Mormon leaders, in similar fashion to Roger Williams in Rhode Island and William Penn in Pennsylvania, regarded the Utes as children of God. This meant a more friendly contact and tolerance between the Utah Indians and these peculiar Mormon pioneers.[1] In fact Brigham Young referred to the treatment of Indians by Penn as being the "spirit of Christianity."[2]

I. MORMON-LAMANITE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY

Mormon doctrine regards the aborigines of the western hemisphere as the white man's brother. They claim the Ute ancestry runs back to the blood of Israel, an earlier prophet the Mormons refer to in the Book of Mormon. The Mormons believe because of the wickedness

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[1]Joel Edward Ricks, Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement in Utah and the Surrounding Region, 1847 to 1877. Monograph series. Utah State University Press, January 1964, p. 34.

[2]Memories of John R. Young, Utah Pioneer of 1847, p. 55. Church Historian's Office.

of Laman and Lemuel, the first parents of the Indians, the Lord placed a curse of dark skin upon them. The Book is believed by those accepting it to be an account of the origin of the American Indians.[3]

Historically, other churches claim no special charge to educate the American Indian, but the Mormons maintain that God commissioned them to civilize them.

With the philosophy of this religion, united with the Mormon's enthusiastic support of intellectual life, the Indians should have benefited. "It is impossible," stated the basic creed, "for a man to be saved in ignorance."[4] Different Mormon doctrine stated, "And I give unto you a commandment that you shall teach one another the doctrine of the kingdom."[5] "Seek not for riches but for wisdom."[6] "Organize yourself (and) prepare a house of learning (and) appoint among yourselves a teacher."[7] "And verily I say unto you that it is my will that you should obtain a knowledge of history, and of countries and of kingdoms, of laws of God and man."[8]

A philosophy which identified salvation so closely with attainment of knowledge was bound to encourage learning. As soon as the church was able, the authorities called some of its members and sent

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[3]Milton R. Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer (Salt Lake: The Deseret News Press, 1940), p. 290.

[4]The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Company, 1886) Sec. 131, p. 118.

[5]Ibid., Sec. 88, p. 313.

[6]Ibid., Sec. 6, p. 89.

[7]Ibid., Sec. 88, p. 318

[8]Ibid., Sec. 93, p. 333.

them out into the field to instruct their red brethren. They went not as preaching missionaries, but as farmers. They gave them tools and oxen and instructed them how to use them. Most missionaries sent out, served without pay and were themselves quite poor. Joseph Smith, the founder of the Church, as early as October 1830, just six months after the organization, sent Oliver Cowdrey, Parley P. Pratt, Peter Whitmer, Jr., and Ziba Peterson to preach the gospel to the Lamanites. Later Brigham Young, John P. Greene, and Amos Orton were appointed.[9]

II. MORMON EDUCATION MOVES WEST

As soon as the Mormons settled in the Great Salt Lake Valley, missionaries again went forth. During their semi-annual conferences many were nominated to "go and preach to the Indians."[10]

Brigham Young, as Governor of the Territory (1850 to 1857) and as President of the Church (1847 to 1877) continually urged his people to establish better schools. Even on the trip west he exclaimed:

> It is desirable that all Saints should improve every opportunity of securing at least a copy of every available treatise of education (such as) every book, map, chart or diagram that may contain interesting, useful and attractive matter to gain the attention of children and cause them to learn to read.[11]

And said Clarissa Young Spencer, "the Saints heeded his words,

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[9]Peter Gettfredson, Indian Depredations in Utah. 1969 (Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing Co., 1919), p. 5.

[10]Garland Hurt to Manypenny, May 2, 1853, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., Serial 956, p. 305.

[11]Brigham Young, Journal of Discourses, 26 vols. Liverpool, 1854-1856, 18, p. 357.

and who could tucked in an old text book among the blankets and sent word back to those who were following to do the same".[12]

Not all the Saints headed his words however. Many felt Brigham was far too conservative in his policies of education. Brigham Young had publically stated:

> I am opposed to free education as much as I am opposed to taking away property from one man and giving it to another who knows not how to take care of it. . . .Would I encourage free schools by taxation? No! That is not in keeping with the nature of our work.[13]

John Chialett after chastising Brigham openly in the Salt Lake Tribune added, "but now about the free school. Of course I did not expect a man like you who cannot write a correct sentence in his mother tongue, and hardly spell half-a-dozen consecutive words correctly to approve the proposition. In conclusion, allow me to inform you that the day is past when you can get on the rostrum and abuse your betters. I for one will not stand it."[14]

Although barely arriving in the Salt Lake Valley on July 24, 1847, Mary Jane Dilworth established the first school in an old military tent as early as October 1847.[15] Later on, in the autumn of the same year, Julian Moses established a school teaching courses in general history and Latin as well as all the common branches.

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[12]Leland Hargrave Creer, The Founding of an Empire: the Exploration and Colonization of Utah, 1776-1856 (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1947), p. 367.

[13]Ibid., p. 368.

[14]Salt Lake Tribune, May 2, 1857.

[15]John Clifton Moffitt,"The Development of Centralizing Tendencies in Educational Organization and Administration in Utah" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1940), p. 7.

During the decade following 1850, the Deseret News contains many advertisements announcing schools opening. Very little, and in most instances, no revenue was provided. Schools were generally built by donation. Many parents could not or would not pay the high tuition fees for their own children let alone for their acquired Indian wards; therefore, attendance was not high. In 1852 the average daily attendance for the territory was a mere 31 percent.[16]

Schools were opened in every new community and were attended by the old as well as the young. Most were poorly manned and worse equipped.[17]

III. MORMON-UTE INTERACTION

Specifically as to the Indians, the Mormons were intimately aware of the myriad of problems in getting along. Apart from the precepts of the Book of Mormon, they were practical enough to know that their brethren were isolated and very far from any succor; it was sound policy to render the Indians either friendly or neutral. This was true even though they more often than not referred to the Ute as hostile and rude.[18]

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[16]J. C. Moffitt, A Century of Public Education in Provo (Utah: N.P., N.D.

[17]Ray Allen Brillington, The Far Western Frontier: 1830-1860 (Harper Torchbooks. The University Library. Harper and Row Publishers, N.Y., 1956), p. 210.

[18]Juanita Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 12 (January 1944), p. 1-48. The tribes residing wholly or in part within the limits of Utah when the Mormons first arrived were the Northwestern, Western and Goship bands of

Initial settlement in the Salt Lake Valley was a fortunate choice for the Mormons for it lay as a "no man's land" between the Shoshoni in Weber and Bear River Valleys and the favorite Utah rendezvous in Utah County.

There were a few Indian uprisings in early Utah, but there numbers were insignificant when one considers the Mormons settled in the heart of Ute country 1,000 miles away from any other white settlements. Instead of hostility, the pioneers of 1847 and 1848 were met in the Salt Lake Valley with primitive curiosity and expectation of gifts.

Some hostility did emerge however. Responsibility must be blaimed in part on the whites and in part on the Indians. In the first battle, Indian cattle thieves were overtaken and defeated at Battle Creek (Pleasant Grove) in March 1849. Another engagement saw hostile Ute forces threatening newly established Fort Utah. These Indians were routed in February 1850 with most being killed. This latter battle was a joint action by the United States Government surveyors under Captain Howard Stansbury and the Mormon residents.[19]

Ute Chief Walkara's cry to rid themselves of the whiteman broke out into early warfare in 1853. It began as a desperate effort

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Shoshones; the Weber, Yampa, Elk Mountain, Timpanagos, and Uintah, San Pitches, Bands of Utes; Piedes, and She-be-rechers all with the exception of the Shoshone speaking the Ute language. Francis A. Walker. The Indian Question (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1874).

[19] Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter Day Saints, 1830-1900 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), p. 253.

by the Utes to kill the whites outside their forts and drive off their livestock. It ended shortly thereafter after some needless bloodshed.

Coincidental with the Walker War was the inhuman massacre of a United States surveying party under Captain Gunnison in 1853. In typical Indian fashion, relatives of an Indian by California immigrants saw eight of the party of twelve butchered.

Then in 1857 the Indians were not slow to sense and capitalize on strained relations between the United States Government and the Mormons. With Johnston's Army marching to Utah they sensed the tension and united with some whites to bring about the Mountain Meadows Massacre westward from Cedar City. At first Brigham Young was led to believe the killing was only an Indian affair until fragments of truth were pieced together revealing white participation.[20]

Skirmishes were the usual tactic rather than what may be termed battles. Any war leader who was unfortunate to lose any large number of men was beaten for his incompetence.

Even though hostilities did exist at scattered intervals, the Mormons began a process of buying, taking in, or indenturing the Indians of the area. Most of their charges were gathered in from necessity, not from want because of the practices of the red men.

In an address by Brigham Young to the Parowan settlers on June 28, 1851, he advised them to buy up the Lamanite children as fast as they could and educate them and teach them the Gospel.[21] Yet he

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[20]Brooks, loc. cit., p. 45.

[21]Deseret News, June 28, 1851.

reminded, "keep them at a respectful distance, all the time, and they will respect you the more for it."[22] Many reports on such acquired children are available in church records, diaries, and letters. These children were generally treated with kindness and generosity. As members of the families they had the same duties and obligations as any of the other children.[23] Many, however, died in the white homes due to unfamiliar diseases.[24]

The act of March 7, 1852, urged by Brigham Young, legalized the taking of such children. They had to be sent to school for at least three months of each school year between the ages of 7 and 17.[35]

At the conclusion of this year, Young reported that "the Indians are universally fed and partially clad throughout the territory where settlements have been made, according to the ability of the people, and very many children are taken into families and have all the useful facilities for education afforded other children."[26]

In 1859, Joseph Beal of Sanpete County adopted a nine year old Indian boy and pledged "to teach and instruct the said Samuel as an apprentice or otherwise cause him to be well and sufficiently instructed and taught the trade of farming after the best way and manner that he

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[22]Brigham Young, Journal History of the Church, May 19, 1849. M.S.

[23]"Reminiscences of the Early Days of Manti," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 6, 1933, p. 120.

[24]Brooks, loc. cit., p. 33.

[25]Laws of Utah, Salt Lake City, 1852, p. 93-94.

[26]Young to Lea, September 29, 1852, in Report of the Commission of Indian Affairs, 32nd Cong., 1st Sess., Serial 156, p. 148.

can; and instruct said apprentice in the habits of obedience, industry and morality.[27]

IV. FEDERAL INDIAN RELATIONS

The Mormons were not the only group finding the education of the Ute difficult. This education had long been considered a problem for the federal and other state governments. Many avenues of approach were tried, all to no avail. Several churches established mission schools. By white standards they likewise failed in education.[28] It seems that the major problem before and would continue to be so in the Utah arena was that of language, for English is the native tongue for only a few of the Ute children.

Therefore, the early period of white-Ute involvement dealing with educational pursuits can only be seen in the development of interactions, the creation of reservations, and the encouragement of "civilizing" the Indians.

The first treaty to be negotiated with any of the Utah tribes was concluded on December 30, 1849 with certain bands of Ute. This was merely one of friendship and peace, though provision was made that reservations might be established for the band that joined in making the treaty, should occasion require. Under this provision four reservations

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[27] Utah Historical Records Survey, Inventory of the County Archives of Sanpete County, p. 14. Original owned by Frank Anderson of Manti.

[28] Clark Wissler, Indians of the United States (Garden City, New York: Museum of Natural History, 1940), p. 324.

were defined by Indian agents during the next ten years: Spanish Fork, Corn Creek, San Pete, and Deep Creek. These four reservations aggregated 291,480 acres.[29]

Brigham Young had further plans for the territory ruled over by the Utes. His ambitious plan foresaw a gigantic Mormon mecca in this wilderness so far removed from gentile persecution. To accomplish this, missionaries and settlers were sent forth from Salt Lake to establish Mormon outposts in the richest valleys possible. His colonization process was one of the most efficient in the history of the westward migration.

Partially in retaliation to this policy, a Ute chieftan, Walkara, wanted war and might have had it had not the peaceful Soviette intervened. Brigham Young relayed that "Soviette (said) it was good for them to have us settle upon their lands, and that he wanted a home close beside us."[30] Many problems arose when the Mormons occupied Fort Utah in the Provo Valley in March of 1849. Whereas the Salt Lake Valley had really been a buffer zone between Shoshone and Ute, the Utah Valley was utilized from time immemorial as a major composite. Here also was a location of excellent fishing and hunting for those nomads. Naturally, the Ute resisted settler encroachment at this location. Had not the interpreter Dimick P. Huntington swore by the sun that the Mormons would not drive the Indians from their lands, nor infringe upon their rights,

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[29]Noble Warren (ed.), The Indian Question (Boston: James B. Osgood and Company, 1874), p. 65.

[30]Brigham Young to Lea, September 29, 1852, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 32d Cong., 1st Session, Serial 636, p. 148.

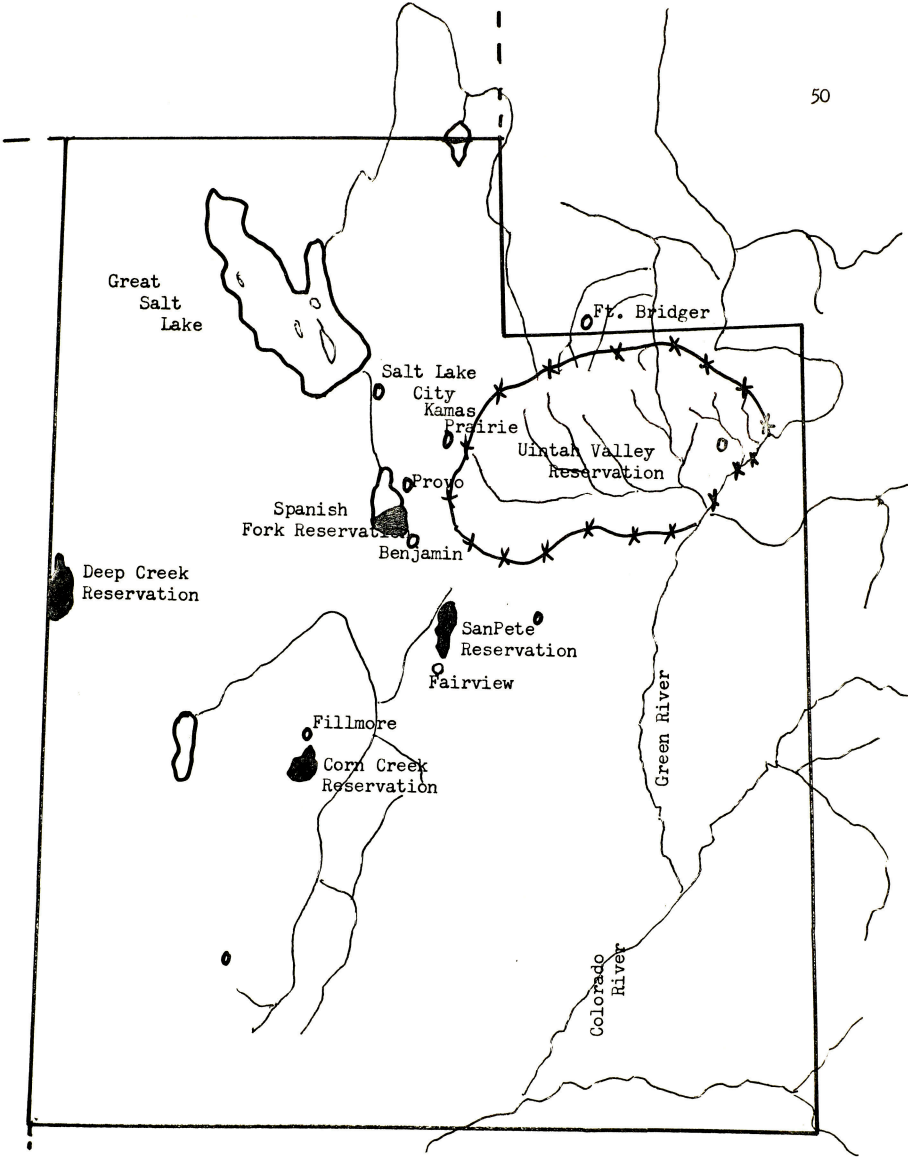

Figure 2. Map of Early Reservations in Utah

warfare would most assuredly have begun.[31]

V. EARLY UTAH SETTLEMENTS AND THEIR EDUCATION

Once established, one of the first buildings constructed in these early settlements was the school house. Although the major reason was to education the Mormon youth, Indian children were invited to attend also. Many a meeting was spent discussing what to do with the Indians. The women of the church talked over ways and means of teaching their Indian girls white ways or persuading the squaws to work instead of begging from door to door.[32]

Although the school facilities may not have been considered desirable in our modern world, many fundamentals were taught. Phonics, spelling, pronunciation and pennmanship were all emphasized. Slates were used instead of notebooks and reading matter was scarce. Webster's speller, a basic arithmetic book, a few Lindley Murray readers, and church reference works were utilized. These were bolstered when in 1850 it was announced that Wilford Woodruff had arrived in Salt Lake Valley with two tons of textbooks.

Then the Legislature of the State of Deseret empowered the various city councils to establish, support, and regulate common schools. In 1852 school districts were established and attendance of students was made compulsory.[33]

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[31]Floyd O'Neil, "The Utes of Eastern Utah," a term paper, University of Utah, p. 10.

[32]Brooks, loc. cit., p. 25.

[33]Gustive O. Larson, Outline History of Utah and the Mormons (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1965), p. 130.

Since compulsory restrictions were needed the rod was used extensively as well as the ordeal of being compelled to ask forgiveness, two foreign items in the Indian makeup. To the Ute child, these items violated all his earlier teachings.[34]

In the school, there was no grading of students and all students, ranging in age from five to 18 years, usually met in one small room of about 12 by 16 feet dimensions. The one tuition price was approximately $3 for a term of three months.[35]

VI. PROBLEM OBTAINING TEACHERS

Teachers were paid an average of $267 per year, if they were paid at all. Even as late as 1860 teachers stood a good chance in not receiving wages at all. To this topic, Brigham Young addressed himself at a church sermon:

> There are many who are anxious to teach school, if the people will encourage them. The people have the privilege of sending their children to school, for there are plenty of teachers and plenty of rooms in every community and neighborhood. However, it is after the case that when they have sent their children one or two quarters they neglect paying the teachers. Pay their tuition like a man. Men able to ride in their carriages, and not able or willing to pay their children's tuition, ought, I think, to have a little composition, or catnip tea, and then perhaps, they will be able to send their children to school. I know such persons are weak and feable; but the disease is in the brain and heart, not in the bones, flesh and blood. Send your children to school.[36]

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[34]H. M. Tidwell, "Uintah and Ouray Indian Agency, Fort Duchesne, Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 7, 1939, p. 183.

[35]Deseret News Weekly, May 7, 1862. A History of Salt Lake County (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1947), p. 69. Also reports of the Territoral Supt. of Schools.

[36]Address of Brigham Young, April 8, 1860. Journal of Discourses, Vol. 8, pp. 39-40.

VII. THE EARLY SCHOOLHOUSE

The physical setting generally consisted of a lime-chalked log house. The building was also used for church meetings, town socials, and all other important get togethers.[37] The single tent of Miss Dilworth grew to number 226 schools in Utah by 1854 with 13,000 students taught by 300 teachers.[38]

Aside from regular schooling, missionaries set up small Indian dwellings. Others merely stationed themselves beside the campfire attempting to preach the gospel.[39]

To these missionaries, Brigham Young gave these instructions:

> You are sent not to farm, build nice houses, and fence fine fields; not to help white men, but to save red ones. Learn their language, and this you can do were effectively by living among them as well as writing out a list of words. Go with them where they go. Live with them. Feed them, clothe them, and teach them as you can, and being thus with them all the time, you will soon be able to teach them in their own language.[40]

One missionary, Thales H. Haskell, illustrated how the missionaries tried to teach the Indians. He wrote to George A. Smith in 1859:

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[37]"Reminiscences of the Early Days of Manti," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 6, 1933, p. 118. Also "Personal Memories of the United Order," by Mark A. Pendlation, Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 7 (Oct, 1939), p. 183.

[38]Gustive O. Larson, Outline History of Utah and the Mormons. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1965), p. 130.

[39]Angus M. Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 12 (1944), p. 144.

[40]Thomas D. Brown, Journal of the Southern Indian Mission, M.S. in L.D.S. Church Historians Office, p. 45.

> I employ my time in studying the language, and in instructing them in the Deseret alphabet. I find that I acquire the language very readily and those to whom I have given the lessons have taken right hold to the alphabet and several of them know the first six characters, and we can hear them hallowing the sounds throughout the village (therefore) I am bent on staying until my mission is fulfilled.[41]

Parley P. Pratt's advice to the Ute missionaries was to "feed, clothe, instruct them; win, save the remnants of the House of Israel. You can teach them habits of cleanliness and industry. . . . Be patient with them."[42]

However, the settler wanted the Indian to accept his ways only while exemplifying an intolerance to his. To education was to civilize and to civilize was to cultivate the white ways. Governor Young's message of 1850 stated:

> All the Indians with whom we have had difficulties, are detached or broken off bands from the main tribes; with them our peaceful relatives have never been interrupted. . . .We have spared no time or expense in endeavoring to conciliate the Indians, and learn them to leave off their habits of pilfering and plundering, and work like other people; but habits of civilization seem not to be in accordance with their physical formation. . .could they be induced to live peaceably and keep herds of cattle, their condition would very materially be ameliorated.[43]

> Here and at Ogden I saw the Indians who were lately distributed among the people for the purpose of bettering their condition of feeding and clothing them and teaching them to work.[44]

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[41] Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ, November 30 1859.

[42] Journal of the Southern Indian Mission. M.S. Church Historians Office, p. 45.

[43] "The State of Deseret," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 8, 1840, p. 192.

[44] Deseret News, December 3, 1851.

Also we read in Dimick Huntington's log in his trip to Fillmore in 1852: "A portion of the citizens have been over on Corn Creek ploughing and sowing wheat for the Indians."[45]

It becomes apparent that the real education of the red man in the territory was mainly vocational. They were taught to farm, basically to relieve the subsidizing pressure from their white neighbors. In 1855, agent Garland Hurt reported he marked off land for them, designated suitable instructors, and jumped with exuberance into the project. On just one of these projects, around Nephi, thirty men had their services solicited for teaching the rudiments of agriculture.[46]

Therefore Young urged his missionaries to adopt a policy of friendly intercourse in which they would assume the role of tutor. He said:

> Let the poor Indians be taught the acts of civilization and to draw their substenance from the ample and sure resources of mother earth, and to follow the peaceful avocations of the tillers of the soil, raising grain, and stock for subsistence instead of pursuing the uncertain chances of war and game for a livelihood. I have often said and I say it now, let them be redeemed from their low estate and advanced in the scale of civilized and intellectual existence.[47]

So it was that the missionaries were called upon to settle among the Indians, to teach them to farm and raise livestock. Sometimes they were even encouraged to intermarry with the natives. The

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[45]Huntington Journal. Church Historian Office, p. 75.

[46]Garland Hurt to Young, September 30, 1853, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 33d Cong., 1st Session, Serial 690, p. 200.

[47]Levi Edgar Young, The Founding of Utah (New York: Charles Schribner & Sons, 1923), p. 268.

Ute agents, however, resented, for one reason or another, these missionaries. They called them "a class of lawless young men," and suggested that all Indian offices receive warning on the subject.[48]

IX. FEDERAL UTE RELATIONS

Aside from the agents, the federal government's official policy was one of benevolent big brother. It was one which on paper placed the utmost respect in the Indian, their lands, and their property. Unofficially it was an extension of the British policies on an earlier period with more interest in their lands than their welfare.[49]

Under this framework, the federal government began to take action very early in regards to the Utes. The president was authorized to appoint "from time to time, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, the following Indian agents: two from the tribes in Utah. Each agent shall hold his office for the term of four years (and until his successor is duly appointed and qualifies.)"[50]

The first federal appointment for an Indian agent in Utah was by President Zachary Taylor on April 7, 1849 when John Wilson of Missouri was appointed at a salary of $1,500 per year. The agencies

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[48]Hurt to Young, loc., cit.

[49]House Exec. Documents #71, 1st Sess., 35th Congress.

[50]United States Laws, statutes. Sec. 2052. Indian Affairs Laws and Treaties, ed. by Charles J. Kappler (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904, Vol. 1, p. 5.

for the upper Missouri and Council Bluffs were transferred to Santa Fe and Salt Lake.[51] Since Wilson went on to California the first formal treaty was made by James S. Calhoun, Supt. of Indian Affairs for New Mexico, on December 30, 1849. It provided merely for amity and friendship.[52] Unfortunately, this treaty made no mention of education.

This Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo of February 2, 1848, brought Utah into the United States as a territory on September 9, 1850. The Utah Territorial Act made Utah an organized territory of the United States. President Millard Fillmore then appointed Brigham Young governor and made him Supt. of Indian Affairs as well.

The only real government in Utah, however, was that of the Mormon Church. Social, civic, and educational affairs were merely a part of the church administration. It was religion that held the settlers in organized units throughout their entire period of colonization. After a provisional government was established, little difference existed between civil and ecclesiastical functions. The only civil form of government before September 9, 1850 was the State of Deseret. Therefore, schools existed with the consent of the church.

X. BRIGHAM YOUNG'S INDIAN RELATIONS

Young took office with a policy of "feeding" rather than

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[51]Dale L. Morgan, "The Administration of Indian Affairs in Utah, 1851-1858," Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 18 (1948), p. 383.

[52]John Major Reese, "The Indian Problem in Utah, 1849-1868" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah). Charles J. Kappler, Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, Vol. 2, Washington, Salt Lake City 1943, p. 35. U.S. Gov. Printing Office, 1904, p. 586.

"fighting" the Indians. As a result of this policy, his agents disagreed violently with him. Consequently, the administration of Indian affairs from 1851 to 1858 was a difficult and complicated process. "Nowhere in the entire country was there greater inefficiency and more conflict."[53] There was waste, graft, dissention and conflict. Reese wrote, "the Indians of the territory were the most badly treated of all of Uncle Sam's wards in America."[54]

An essential characteristic of the Indian problem was in competent agents. The first of these was Jacob H. Holeman. Henry R. Day and Stephen B. Rose acted as sub agents. Day, assigned to Pauvan agency, was an active anti-Mormon and Holeman, assigned to the Uintah agency, immediately sent adverse comments to Commissioner Lea, accusing the Mormons of causing much of the Indian trouble.[55]

Despite the pressures, Brigham Young continued his Indian policy. This theory was really based upon a series of five ideas:

1. Feed them when necessary. Settlers were advised to take the responsibility of caring for the Indians near them.
2. Teach them to work. He wanted to teach them farming in order to foster self-sustainment. Agents were to supervise this work.

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[53]John Major Reese, "The Indian Problem in Utah, 1849-1868" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1943), p. 35. Charles J. Kappler, Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties, Vol. 2 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 35.

[54]Reese, loc. cit., p. 49.

[55]Ibid., p. 37.

3. Teach them the value of property.

4. Teach them Mormonism. Missionaries were to teach the Mormon way of life. Many such missions were founded in the period from 1852 to 1858.

5. Educate them and civilize them. In a letter to Jacob Hamblin on March 5, 1858, Young's attitude can be clearly seen. He wrote:

> The Indians should be encouraged in keeping and taking care of their stock. I highly approve of farming through the natives; it teaches them to obtain a subsistance by their own industry and leaves you more at liberty to visit others, and extend your missionary work among them. A few missionaries to show and instruct them how to raise stock and grain. This is most judicious.[56]

Trouble crept in with the Walker War. With the peace signed at Chicken Creek, things looked bright. Walkara died and with the acession of his brother Aropean, the Mormons had a chief they could easily control.

On July 15, 1853 Young's personnel problems seemed to subside when E. A. Badell replaced Holeman as agent. This proved to be folly as a short time later on August 16, 1854 Dr. Garland Hurt was appointed to the Utah agency.

Hurt was efficient and industrious. He organized Indian farms on twelve Mile Creek in San Pete County, on Corn Creek near Fillmore and north of Spanish Fork. He "strongly recommended suitable places for the location of farms, and that practical farmers be employed to

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[56]James A. Little (ed.), Jacob Hamblin Narrative (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1909), pp. 55-56.

conduct the same."[57] William Maxwell was assigned to direct affairs in Utah County with his headquarters at Payson. John A. Ray was assigned to Fillmore. Manes Hatch undertook his assignment at Salt Creek.

The lands were covered with dense growth of brush wood and were found to be more expensive to clear and plough than was anticipated. Canals were needed which also took more than was expected.[58]

Approximately 15,000 Utes tried the Spanish Fork agricultural farm, 5,000 San Pete, and 4,000 did likewise at Corn Creek. The farm at Spanish Fork had one large adobe house, a dam, and a six-foot Spanish wall around one thousand acres. Two hundred acres were under cultivation in San Pete valley with two adobe houses and substantial water ditches for irrigation. Three adobe buildings were at Fillmore. One big building was for the agents. There was also some fencing, and a corral.[59]

Young agreed with Hurt's policy to establish reservations on a more permanent basis. They should negotiate treaties for the ceded land. Agents must locate the Indians in inaccessible areas and give Utes aide in the form of instructions by farmers. They must provide agricultural implements. Although the policy sounded feasible, it failed to produce results.

A major reason was many Utes were destitute of anything to subsist

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[57]George W. Armstrong to Young, September 30, 1855, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., Serial 956, p. 205.

[58]Reese, loc cit., p. 55.

[59]Hurt to Young, September 30, 1855, in Report of the Commission of Indian Affairs, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., Serial 956, p. 200.

upon. Hunger forced them to leave the farm and go to the mountains to hunt, or to the creek to fish.

Hurt even had his doubts when he admitted that it was "unreasonable to expect a complete and perfect reformation in these wild nomadic creatures in so short a period."[60] Later in 1858, agent Jacob Forney agreed to the apparent failure. Consequently, Indians continually sought out Mormon presents instead of working for themselves.[61]

The farms were doomed to failure. By 1861, Agent Davies found "the farms at the San Pete, Corn Creek, Deep Creek and Ruby Valley reserves abandoned and gone to ruin; and the tribes attached thereto had wandered off. Scarcely a vestige of the improvements once existing was visible. The Indians were in a state of nakedness and starvation."[62] Mr. Humphrey reported that he had done everything in his power to keep them from suffering and was obliged to sell everything movable on the farm. This disposal quite discouraged the Indians.[63]

By 1862, the Mormon communities in the vicinities were attempting to survey the reservations with the avowed intention of taking

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[60]Hurt to Young, September 30, 1855, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., Serial 956, p. 200, 232.

[61]Journal History, September 2, 1855, p. 2.

[62]Benjamin Davies to Humphreys, June 30, 1861, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 36th Cong., 2d Sess., Serial 956, p. 129.

[63]Dyman S. Wood to Humphreys, May 6, 1861, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 36th Cong., 2d Sess., Serial 956, p. 139.

possession of them. They pushed for selling the reservations.[64]

As Mormon numbers grew to an overwhelming proportion, the whites became less hospitable to Ute beggings. Considerable numbers of Utes were reported constantly harboring around the settlements. Agent Armstrong reported that "many of the Indians came to my office daily, begging for flour. They are already in a very destitute condition, and are constantly making loud and clamorous appeals to the settlers for provisions."[65]

The fault lay not alone with the Utes. The game which in former years was considerable and upon which they depended, was rapidly diminishing. This alone could bring on the annoying habit of begging or even impel them to frequent commissions of petty thefts. "The Indians," said agent Forney, "must have assistance from some source or steal or starve."[66]

Wood reported, "Indians complain bitterly that since the white man has come around them their game has almost entirely disappeared and they are obliged to either beg or starve."[67]

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[64]James Duane Doty to Dole, September 12, 1862, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 37th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 199. T. W. Hatch to Doty, September 16, 1862.

[65]George W. Armstrong to Young, June 30, 1855, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., Serial 956, p. 202, 204.

[66]Jacob Forney to Greenwood, September 29, 1859, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 35th Cong., 2nd Sess., Serial 956, p. 369.

[67]Wood to Martin, October 1, 1861, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 36th Cong., 2d Sess., Serial 956, p. 135.

Young was forced to appeal to the government officials that it "was obvious that aid to the Utah Indians should be more liberal, for it is not presumable that the government expects her citizens to continually sustain them by donations."[68] Benjamin Davies reported the "white inhabitants (have) been subjected to insults, thefts, threats, intrusions, and other outrages from them" for the last time.[69] Mormons would tolerate their red brethren no more.

The white truly ran into conflict with the red man as he pushed him along the Wasatch front and the farms proved ineffectual.

This was the number one antagonism. Mormons, therefore, were found to be no different than any other westward-moving settler who confronted the Indian on the land he desired. The Ute like many red men before him would be forced off the more valuable land taken by the gluttonous speculators. J. H. Holman warned of this as early as 1851. Treaties to such effect were suggested as early as 1855 by Garland Hurt. Legislative land grants took other herding grounds. By 1850 the once favorite hunting ground of the Utes, Utah Valley, had eight towns with populations ranging from 300 to 4000 adults. Matters came to a head when in 1861 Benjamin Davies wrote: "most of the sort susceptible for cultivation is now settled and occupied by white persons and the tide of population, attroded hither by religious notions will soon

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[68]Young to Many Penny, June 30, 1856, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 34th Cong., 3d Sess, Serial 956, p. 226.

[69]Davies to Dole, June 30, 1861, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 34th Cong., 2d Sess., Serial 956, p. 129.

leave but little space for the poor Indian."[70]

The Utes turned to plundering the cattle of the homesteaders when the farms at San Pete and Spanish Fork were desired. Small conflicts were certain to blossom into major confrontations.

XI. THE MORMON WAR

Following some atrocities came another related problem. Gentile officials such as Magraw, Judge Drummand, Surveyor General Burr began an unrelentless attack on Mormon policy. Burr after reporting Young's efforts to control the Indians ineffectual, struck out at the Mormons in general. He said, "these people repudiate the authority of the United States in this country, and are in open rebellion against the general government."[71] Agents resented the influence of Brigham Young not only over all white inhabitants but Indians as well. In several ways they were right. Young controlled all. In fact at the Tabernacle on March 1, 1857 Heber C. Kimball said, "if you trifle with me I tell you the truth, you will trifle with Brother Brigham, and if you trifle with him you will also trifle with angels and with God, and thus you will trifle yourselves down to hell."[72]

"To other Americans, the Mormons were immoral eccentrics bent on

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[70] Ibid., p. 131.

[71] William Alexander Linn, The Story of the Mormons from date of their Origin to the Year 1901 (New York: Russell and Russel, Inc., 1963), p. 474.

[72] Journal of Discourses, Vol. 4, p. 249, 252.

establishing their own commonwealth. To Mormons, their fellow countrymen were persecuting bigots plotting to complete destruction of Mormonism."[73] Because of this misunderstanding, the army of Albert Sydney Johnston was called to Utah. During this period the only non-Mormon federal officials left were the Indian agents and the surveyor general.

This presidential blunder had its immediate effects upon the Ute bands. Washington politicians were convinced the Mormons were in violation of the Indian Intercourse Act of 1834.[74] This act said no one could arouse the Indians against the federal government. Letters such as the following of September 30, 1857 were used to support this thesis:

> It is hard to make an Indian believe that the whites are their friends, and the Great Father wishes to do them good, when perhaps, the very next party which crosses their path shoots them down like wolves."[75]

During this "Mormon War" the Indians were forgotten and their needs reduced to infinitesimal rubble. It upset Young's Ute policy returning the redskins back to their old raiding habits. It provided for a new breed of Indian administrator in Utah. It resulted in a

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[73]Ray Allen Billington, The Far Western Frontier: 1830-1860 (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1956), p. 212.

[74]F. N. The Trade and Intercourse Act of 1834 broadly expressed the power of the Constitution bestowed on Congress over the tribes. It defined Indian country, prescribed the method of making contracts with the natives, and empowered the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to appoint traders as well as to regulate the kind, quantity and prices of goods.

[75]Young to Denver. House Executive Doc. #2, 35th Congress, 1st Sess., Serial 942, p. 599.

period of stagnated, ineffective anti-Mormon Policy.

XII. A NEW ERA OF UTE GUARDIANSHIP

When some Ute chiefs saw the might of the federal army as they entered Utah they were not adverse to playing their cards. In fact, the newly appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs Jacob Forney (September 9, 1857) learned from a delegation composed of Sanpitch, Little Soldier, and White Eye that Mormons were taking their land.[76] Consequently several new officials were placed over the Indian farms to re-teach the Indians. Again, it was just what these nomads did not want, farming. In spite of all efforts, trouble developed generally because of careless federal officials and lack of immediate aid or presents. No finances had been provided to run the farms nor buy food for the starving redmen.

During this period there existed a great input of immigration. To an Indian, these wagon trains brought fear and distrust. Then the telegraph came, the daily stage became a reality, and a constant influx of settlers added to the Indian's dilemma. He saw another piece of his favorite land engulfed. Agent Reed complained that "the influx of a considerable mining population among them may result in disturbances in our midst."[77]

Dyman S. Wood wrote in 1861:

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[76] Ibid.

[77] Amos Reed to Dole, December 14, 1863, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 178.

> They express their willingness to cede to the United States all the lands they claim in the territory with the exceptions of reservations necessary for their homes; and ask in return that the United States shall make them annual presents of blankets, beads, paint, calico, ammunition, etc.; with occasional supplies of beef and flour sufficient to make comfortable, which I estimate can be done with a small addition to the usual appropriation.[78]

Finally Secretary of the Interior Caleb B. Smith suggested a reservation in the Uintah Valley to the crest of the ranges of the Uintah River whereupon Lincoln answered: "Let the reservation be established, as recommended by the Secretary of the Interior."[79]

To add to the Mormon and Indian woes, the immoral, inefficient John W. Dawson replaced Governor Cumming. It seemed that Indian conflict would surely boil over.[80]

There came a growing indifference towards Indian affairs. Conditions were reported as "deplorable." With the arrival of Colonel Patrick Connor problems intensified for the Indian. It became one of bringing him to his knees instead of one of trying to pacify the savage. Despite this, many felt the answer ultimately lay in education for the Indians.

T. W. Hatch provided a glimpse of future educational programs. He said:

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[78]Wood to Martin, October 1, 1861, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 36th Cong., 2d Sess., Serial 956, p. 136.

[79]Lyman, June and Denver, Norma, Ute People: An Historical Study. Edited by Floyd O'Neil and John Sylvester. 3rd Ed. Salt Lake City: Uintah School District and the Western History Center, 970. p. 45. A copy is on file at the B. I. A. office at Ft. Duchesne, United States: 900 Indian Affairs Treaties act of May 5, 1864 (13 Stat. 63) and May 24, 1888 (25 Stat. 157), p. 900.

[80]Tullidge, loc cit., p. 227.

> To guard against such frauds and teach the Indians; the manners and customs of civilized life more fully, that wherever and whenever farms are cultivated Indians there locate; that school should be established among them where the parents are located, and not upon the chase, where they will be taught, not only at the schoolroom but at home, the agricultural or mechanical pursuits. The girls should be taught housewifery, knitting, sewing, spinning, and weaving. No teacher should be employed unless she could teach how to cut and make clothing. And no man should be employed as a teacher or otherwise, unless he is a practical farmer or mechanic, sufficient to teach the Indian the use of tools, preserve meats, grain, etc. Combine labor and book education. Make labor primary and book learning a secondary consideration. Inculcate in their minds that theft labor is ennobility and honorable, and liberate their foundation of power and greatness.[81]

For civilization to advance and to stop depredations, removal seemed essential.

Then the meagre Ute subsidy was cut almost in half with the creation of the territories of Colorado and Nevada. Ute unrest flared anew. In his report of November 26, 1862 Commissioner William P. Dole stated:

> Our relations with the Indians of the (Utah) superintendency are still in unsatisfactory condition. The efforts of the superintendent and agents to ameliorate the condition of the Indians are very much restricted for want of adequate means, and I have but little doubt that many of the depredations committed by Indians are induced by want and privations.[82]

Governor James Duane Doty wrote:

> The bands of the Utah nation can be readily induced to settle permanently, on proper locations. An exploration of Uintah valley confirms the information. Settlements of from twenty to fifty farms can be found at different places along the Uintah and its tributaries, but its greatest advantage is its remoteness from white settlements. It is believed that most of the Utah may

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[81] T. W. Hatch to Doty, September 16, 1862, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 37th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 208.

[82] House Exec. Documents #1, 37th Cong. 3d Sess., Serial 1157, p. 72.

be collected and permanently settled in either Uintah valley.[83]

In 1863, Doty reported a willing desire of the Utes to become herdsmen or husbandmen on the Uintah reservation. He cautioned that their friendship could not be relied upon while they were in the immediate vicinity of the white settlements. He said all expenditures on the farms were a waste of money and they ought to be abandoned.[84]

XIII. REMOVAL

By 1864, the first 2500 Mormons who came to Utah had grown to over 40,000. Sensing this superiority in numbers the Mormons became tired of having the Indians around at all. The Utah legislature memorialized Congress for the removal of the Indians to as far south as Sanpete. It was felt Indians should be removed to the Uintah Valley.[85]

This reaction even affected the official federal policy. Place the Indians beyond the reach and evil effects of the white man became the plea; i.e., removal. Luther Mann, Jr. supplanted the earlier Christian attitude. He felt "wild Indians, like wild horses, must be coralled upon reservations. There they can be brought to work, and soon will become a self-supporting people, earning their own living by

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[83]Doty to Dole, September 12, 1862, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 37th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 199.

[84]Doty to Dole, October 24, 1863, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 419.

[85]Gustive O. Larson, Outline History of Utah and the Mormons (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1965), p. 167-168.

their industry."[86]

In this attempt to eradicate the Indian-white encounters, Superintendent Irish in June 1865 arranged for a treaty at Spanish Fork. It was signed by Chiefs Tabby, Kanosh, Sowiette, Sanpitch, and eleven others. The Utes (Weber, Uintah, Pah-Vants, Timpanagos, and Sanpitches) gave up their title to the land, pledged to remain peaceful, and promised to move to the Uintah Valley within one year. As part of this agreement, the federal government was to maintain a school nine months of the year for ten years, build mills, store houses, and pay for equipment and personnel to operate these enterprises. Tribes were to receive an annuity of $25,000 for the first ten years and $20,000 for the next twenty and $15,000 for 30 years thereafter. Unfortunately the government failed to ratify it.[87] This resulted in a very unsettled unfirm agent policy. Several Commissioners of Indian Affairs called Congressional attention to this problem but to no avail.[88]

With no treaty, financial assistance failed to come and there was a delay of supplies. This was aggrevated by severe snows cutting off the basin. During this period agents changed frequently with each one bringing in new policies and promises.

The 21-month Black Hawk War was in every way related to the

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[86]Luther Mann, Jr. to Irish, September 28, 1865, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 159.

[87]Young, loc. cit., p. 287. This policy has been advocated by Brigham Young as early as the summer of 1854, Deseret News, June 14, 1865.

[88]House Exec. Documents #1, 39th Cong., 2d Sess., Serial 1284, p. 15.

stated problem. When the Mormon settlers pressured the Indians to move to the Uintah basin, war followed. This war cost the lives of at least 70 whites, much property and expenses to the territory amounting to $1,121,037.[89]

Ineffieiency also compounded the problem. Superintendent Head accused agent L. B. Kinney, in charge of the Uintah agency with "gross neglect of duty." Head felt he had expanded the liberal appropriations made by the government in such a manner as to be almost of no benefit to the Indians. Because of this dire need, the Mormons sent aid to the forgotten Utes in the form of 70 cattle.[90]

With the end of the Black Hawk War, the foundations were laid for a permanent reservation policy in Utah. The romantic period of the Ute relations with the white man was ended. He became truly the ward of the government.

The reservation he went to consisted of 2,039,040 acres. Witherspoon lists the figure at 2,487,474 acres. It was set apart by Lincoln's executive order in 1861 and by act of Congress of May 5, 1864. On this latter date the earlier four reservations were also ordered sold bringing approximately $.62½ per acre.[91]

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[89]Reese, loc. cit., p. 97. Bancroft listed this expense at $1,100,000. O'Neil also feels Lincoln's executive Order of October 1861 establishing a reservation was a leading cause of the war. O'Neil, loc. cit., p. 15.

[90]House Exec. Documents #139, Congress 2d Sess., Serial 1284, p. 125.

[91]Noble Warrum (ed.), Utah Since Statehood: Historical and Biographical (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1919), p. 66.

According to several observers this reservation comprised some of the best farm land in Utah. The treaty concluded by Superintendent Irish on June 8, 1865 ceded all claim to lands in Utah except in the Uintah Valley Reserve.[92]

Part four of the fifth section states:

> The government will establish and maintain for 10 years, at an expense not to exceed $10,000 annually a manual labor school, the Indians stipulating to help all children between the ages of 7 and 18 years at school nine months in the year. If they fail to do so, the school may be abandoned.[93]

SUMMARY

Selected historians have felt that there was perfect white-red relationship on this Mormon frontier, however, nothing is farther from the truth. The Mormon treatment was no worse, but it most assuredly was no better than other areas of American westward migration. Witherspoon stated that the "Utes struggled with essentially the same problems centering around subsistence, relationships with non-Indian neighbors and the maintenance of valued patterns."[94]

Indians were asked to leave their homeland as soon as the whites

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[92] In actuality the treaty merely approved the executive Order of October 3, 1861. The power given such a measure is stated in Kappler, loc. cit., p. 6. It states: "The President shall, whenever he may judge it expedient, discontinue any Indian agency, or transfer the same from the place or tribe designated by law, to such other place or tribe as the public service may require."

[93] Irish to Dole, June 29, 1865, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 151.

[94] Witherspoon, loc. cit., p. 3.

tired of their red neighbors. They were displaced by the Mormon whites. When land was needed and a patience for begging lost, the army and Nauvoo Legion were prepared to utilize an all to familiar subvertion policy of the drive west. Clashes occurred, though small in size in proportion to the Sioux Plain's Wars.

Squatters increased as the Civil War ended and iron rails cut their shining path towards Utah. The arrival of new settlers caused an immediate and drastic decline in the Ute's food supplies, for which the Utes demanded compensation.

Harsh environmental conditions, the physical problems involved in subduing the intermountain west, Indian indifference to the Mormon message, plus a hostility from non-Mormon pioneers and government agents, all forced the Mormons to curtail, to postpone, or to abandon many of their efforts to inculcate the Indians with a new way of life.

The Mormons introduced sedentary farming practices in an effort to educate the Ute. They taught some basic learning to help foster a desire for Mormom Christianity. Despite the noteworthy efforts, the Mormons were forced to conclude that it would take generations of education before the Utes could be transformed into industrious people. Farms were operated with moderate success for a time but agriculture soon grew wearisome. Many of the Ute then turned to hunting and raiding as more suitable. Mormon culture did alter drastically the red man's views on life. The educational progress officials desired was very limited at best.

Although Brigham Young at no time deviated from his policy of

friendliness to the Indians, the precept was not always followed. There was often a lack of sympathy for the Indian viewpoint and occasional instances of vengeful and wanton killings arose by both the Indian and the settler alike.

So it was that the Ute nation would travel their own "Trail of Tears" to the Uintah Basin.

CHAPTER V

UTE EDUCATION 1865-1880

On their way to the Uintah Valley, the Utes spent the first winter in the Strawberry Valley and almost froze to death. After which they moved over to what is now Tabiona.

I. EARLY UINTAH IMPRESSIONS

With the Utes now hemmed in by a circle of Caucasian civilization, scattered bands began making their headquarters at what is now called Whiterocks--they called it "Uintah" meaning "the edge of the pines where the two rivers come together."[1] As was typical elsewhere, intercourse between people of widely disparate cultured levels inevitably afforded opportunities for exploitation, oppression and debauchery. The problem it seems, for the federal government was how to stop or at least minimize this process of exploitation and extermination.

One of the earlier agents, L. B. Kinney, was described by the next agent F. H. Head as being "guilty of gross neglect of duty, and had expanded the liberal appropriation made by the government in such a manner as to be of almost no benefit to the Indians." Because of his dealings, the Utes were truly exasperated towards the federal government even once preparing for a general war.[2]

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[1]Doughters, loc. cit., p. 6-9.

[2]F. H. Head to Cooley, September 20, 1866, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 39th Cong., 2d Session, Serial 1284, p. 125.

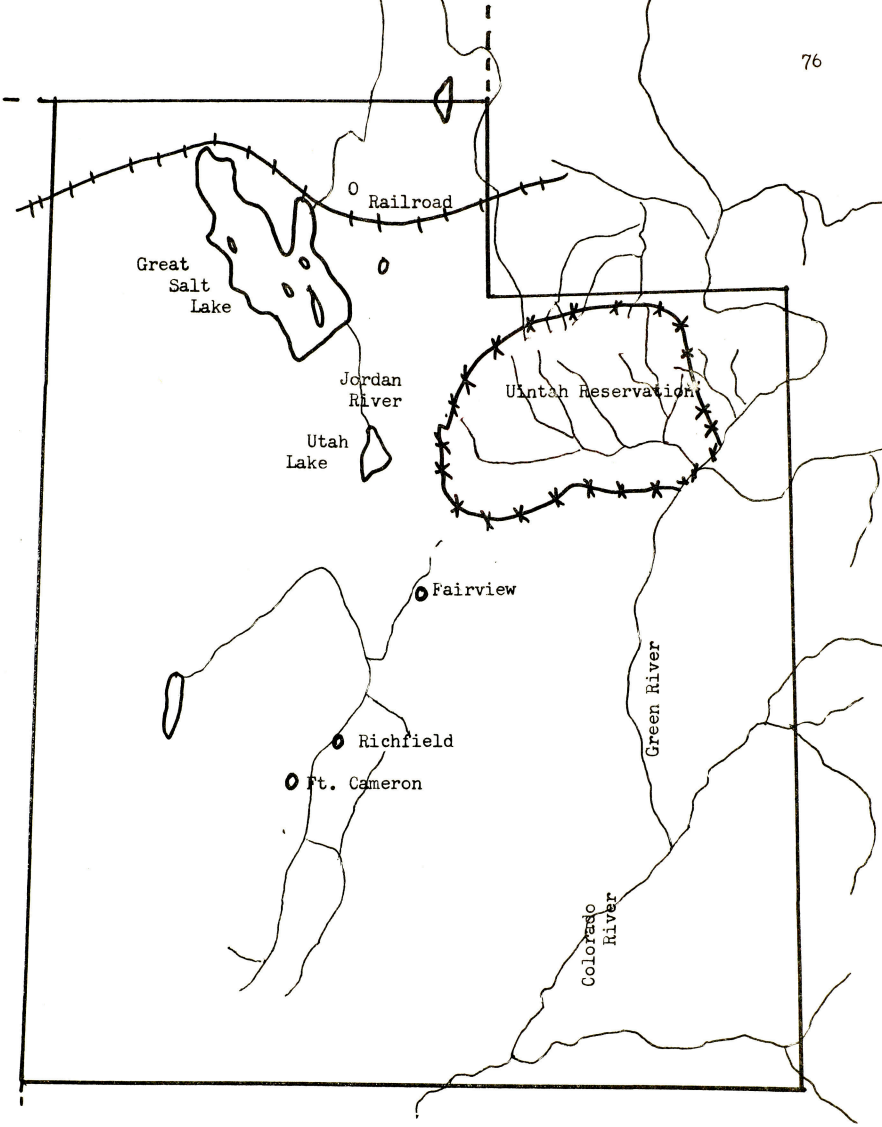

Figure 3. Map of Early Uintah Reservation, 1879

The reservation was not properly prepared to provide for the new Ute immigration. Special agent Carter was made available for the removal. Only some twenty-five acres of land was cleared, ploughed and planted, and enclosed. Some of the Indians, from necessity, attempted to plant their own, but because of a lack of experience and instruction, they were unsuccessful.

At first rations were scarce and ill feeling was engendered by the nearly starving condition of the Utes. The winter was an unusually severe one and with their few animals perishing, so likewise did many of their number.

Finally rations came, but even this system proved to be an evil. It undoubtedly educated the Indian in the belief that in some way or other, they were always to be taken care of by the United States government. This policy checked ambition, stifled initiative, and wrought great wrong. Even tobacco, which was part of the ration, found the children entitled to their portion. Only moral persuasion or bribery could get them to quit.

When the Indians were forced to change their abode and way of living, many of them resigned themselves to becoming wards of the government. In an attempt to reverse this feeling of despair, the federal government began to establish schools. The purpose was to instruct adults in ways of civilization and to assist youth in acquiring academic and vocational training. Accordingly, the first permanent agency was established at Whiterocks on Christmas Day, 1868.

The success of this school at first lay with the agents.

Indian agent positions were coveted political plums; therefore, some agents were good, others bad, but nonetheless, they were the key men in the government relations. There was a belief that only a few years would guarantee a fortune to anyone not overly burdened with scruples.

Pardon Dodds, was the first real agent of the Uintah Valley Agency, but George W. Greffam, who replaced him in 1869 filed the first annual report.[3] Greffam disliked his charges, his location, and his job. He and Dodds were totally ignorant of the culture of the people they were supposed to administer or the inherent problems with Ute farms.

In 1868 the Indian farms, although meager in their production, was visited by grasshoppers and within a few days they devoured half the crops. This tragedy greatly disheartened the Utes who were blazing the path of enlightened culture.

The basic document for Ute education was the Treaty of 1868. It provided for the separation of the Colorado Utes into two large reservations and guaranteed a schoolhouse as soon as there were enough children induced to attend. Utah Ute treaties would be likened unto it.[4]

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[3]Dodds later went with John Wesley Powell in one of his trips down the Colorado, was appointed delegate to the legislature, and prosecuting attorney for Uintah County. Daughters of Utah Pioneers of Uintah County. Builders of Uintah: A Centennial History of Uintah County, 1872 to 1947 (Springville: Art City Publishing Co., 1947), p. 9.

[4]Milton Hoyt, "Development of Education Among the Southern Utes: An Examination of Federal Policies and Actual Practices" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Colorado, 1967), p. 316. Hubert Howe Bancroft. History of Utah. Vol. 26 (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), p. 635.

II. THE PEACE POLICY

When President Grant took office March 4, 1869, he was confronted with an Indian situation which bedeviled the West and bewildered Washington. Eastern newspapers called the Indians red devils, skulking redskins, treacherous savages, and bloody barbarians.[5] Such a philosophy as this brought instructors who had never farmed, clerks who could not write and teachers too dissolute or incompetent to hold positions in other schools.

Part of this "Peace Policy" of Grant's was to invite all philanthropic and missionary societies to recommend appointments for agents; therefore, in due course, all but a few agencies were in charge of churchmen. Many believed that only Christian influence could save the Indians from extinction. In Utah the Episcopalian and Presbyterian sects were called upon.

As part of this policy, government schools for Indian children began to appear and in 1870 Congress did the unbelievable by appropriating $100,000 for Indian education.[6]

Training the youth was the immediate problem of the agencies. The adjustment of the adult became a temporary problem. It was thought that four or five years of boarding school experience with its rigid

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[5]S. Lyman Tyler, Study of the Changes in Policy of the U.S. Toward Indians, N.P., N.D., p. 4. Lawrie Tatum, Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), p. vii.

[6]Tyler, loc. cit., p. 7.

discipline would eradicate the young Indian's disorderly habits.

III. CIVILIZING THE UTE?

Ute Indian education was a rather unique function for the church or government. In most cases it was almost at extremes with the Ute cultural pattern. Many of them were not able to see any reason for education.

In Y. T. Witherspoon's dissertation, he summarizes some of the reasons for this lack of educational acceptance.

> Ute children view the world as a series of unrelated objects and events seen in general form. They do not question the source of the elements which make up their world. Things are as they are and the Ute waste little time on speculation as to how they came to be. (The Ute children) are oriented to wholes, to complete gestalts, with very little attention paid to details. Analytical thinking is very difficult for Ute children with the result that they approach problem situations on a superficial level. The idea of alternatives is difficult for the Utes to understand. They usually act upon the first idea which occurs to them. If this solution fails, they simply refuse to tackle the problem again. It leads on the one hand to over-confidence in approaching problems and, on the other hand, to resignation and a ready acceptance of failure. The Ute child measures his performance against his own evaluation of what he should do. What other people think he should do is a matter of small concern. The white world is strange, unexplainable, and frequently frightening. The Indian world is less complicated, more easily understood, and places fewer demands on him. This world view almost precludes the possibility of the Ute child doing well in the school. These factors are the product of the cultural milieu in which the Ute child lives.[7]

Thus acculturation of the Utes was an individual process. In Commissioner John Collier's later words, it was to:

> . . . . smother, to exterminate the entirety of the Indian heritage (becoming) the central purpose of Indian affairs. Extermination was applied beyond the tribe and its government to

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[7]Witherspoon, loc. cit., p. 159-162.

> the local community government out of which the tribes were compounded, and beyond the local governments to the family as tribe and local community crumbled under the pressures, remote authority had of necessity to be extended past the group to the individual and this authority was applied horizontally and exhuastively. Invidious absolutism and yet benevolent; invidious toward all that constituted Indianhood, toward every instrument for moulding or implementing personality, while yet benevolent toward the individual Indian. And through its benevolence, the far more subtly destroying. Always through so many mediums, the Indian was told that as a race he was doomed to failure by social inferiority or impracticability. Always he was challenged to build a new personality out of no cultural heritage at all.[9]

Daily and weekly lessons, activities, and associations determined the progress toward this objective. With the home influence strong and the atmosphere permissive as it is in Ute families, and community influences negative, cold and unyielding, then progress was painfully slow.

IV. A DIFFERING EDUCATION

Education was provided free of charge without the necessity of the Indians being responsible for it. Consequently, the objectives, aims, goals, and procedures were somewhat different than those encountered in public education.[9] The primary difference was the Indian school emphasized vocational training to a greater degree. The school curriculum revolved around the rudiments of literature and learning and techniques of farming.

Some of the aims, however, were similar to public education. One of these was the aiding of the child to adjust to changing conditions

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[9]Kenneth R. McClellan, "The Ute Indians and Their Educational Programs" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1953), p. 46-47.

in his environment. Even though curricular offerings were available, there were no physical facilities for housing the children.

During this period, agent reports constantly asserted there to be "no school or mission yet established." Agent F. H. Head reported; however, there were several instances where single Indians had been sent to the schools through settler support. His report ended with the gloomy phrase "without satisfactory results."[10]

Despite settler attempts, the Utes were "sadly in want of education and moral teaching" even though many were reported to be "quite industrious and intelligent."[11]

On a whole the new Ute agents were capable and honest men, but many lacked experience in dealing with Indians. Another deterrent was that the agents were expected to select and employ physicians, clerks, teachers, and all other employees.

VII. PECULIAR EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

At many of the reservation schools the teacher could not understand the Indian language and the pupils could not understand English.

One Indian reported his version of the problem with early Indian schools:

> I went to school on the reservation. The teachers were pretty nice, but they were sort of stupid sometimes. They didn't understand the Indian children. They tried hard and we let them teach us. I

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[10]Head to Taylor, August 22, 1867, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 40th Cong., p. 179.

[11]George W. Graffan to Tourtallotte, September 15, 1869, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 41st Cong., 2d Session, Serial 1414, p. 233.

> learned the language really good, but I don't understand it sometimes. They talk about great things but I never see any of these things. When I go home all I see is what I've always seen. I don't know about other things outside. The white man don't know where he is going, all he does is talk words.[12]

The preceding passage is quite significant in that it indicates the complete lack of identification with the whites. The rules were learned and the time spent in school, but it appears that is about all that can be said.

Hauck studied the performance of a selected group of Utes on the Rorschach test as the subject of his Ph.D. dissertation. His general conclusions were that Ute of all ages approach the world and its problems in an intellectually similar way. They tend to ignore the details and to classify experiences into broad generalities and categories. They do not make sharp differentiation of the stimuli which impinge upon them. They perceive changes in the world in terms of stereotypes. They approach tasks with confidence, but poor execution frequently follows because of the lack of attention to details.[13]

In order to understand another culture, one must first be equipped with an understanding of his own. As one put it, "I would say Indians are more interested in something they know and really think about it. If they know, actually they'll really take part in it and be able to understand."[14] I imagine this is what the modern day educator might

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[12]Joseph F. Power, Brotherhood Through Education: A Guide for Teachers of American Indians (Fayette: Upper Iowa University, 1965). p. 75.

[13]P. A. Hauck, "Rorschach Performances of the Ute Indians" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Utah, 1953).

[14]Duke Oral History Project. Boyden with Chapoose, #7, p. 2.

describe as relevance.

Often ultra-enthusiasm coupled with a desire to accomplish rapid changes, resulted in frustration of both the educator and the child. Studies have proven the Indian child not lacking in either intelligence or aptitude. Environmental background has been found to provide the important difference. The ignorance of native culture and way of life, the feeling of racial superiority, the lack of clear understanding of what to do with the very life of these native groups were factors making for backwardness in cultural and social evolution.

Yet at school, memorization of material was mandatory. Many insipid children would refuse to answer questions fearing the teachers would think they were dumb. They did not want the other children to say that they asked foolish questions.[15]

For early Ute education experimentation was a necessity. There were no real precedents to guide them. Even treaties affected their desire for further education.

Treaty making was abandoned in 1871 and the Ute tribe and others were pronounced domestic dependent nations. The government presumably assumed full responsibility for Ute education and rehabilitation. But the Utes were no different from other Western Indians. They resented their subjection, removal, and confinement. Eventually a facility for schooling was constructed at White Rocks in the northeast corner of the Uintah Reservation.

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[15] Ibid.

At the Whiterocks school the greatest emphasis was placed upon stock raising and farming. This was because officials felt the Utes were of a roving nature and would adopt to stock raising. In as much as the Indians obtained their livelihood either directly or indirectly from the soil, they would readily adapt to farming.

All of these programs were supplemental to the classroom activities and provided a sort of laboratory for demonstrating and experiencing.

However, after elementary school, the youths went away for high school instruction or attended the surrounding public schools. For the more advanced, schools such as Carlisle, founded in 1875, could offer help.

VIII. FEES, BOOKS, AND IMPLEMENTS

Tuition was provided free for all Indian youth through high school if they so desired to continue.

Books and housing were provided at the school. The majority of the students lived at the dormitories provided by the school. All equipment such as blankets, beds, etc. were furnished.[16]

IX. ATTENDANCE

In some of these schools, children were literally kidnapped for attendance. To show this, the agent's records revealed a striking increase

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[16]McClellan, loc. cit., p. 53.

in enrollment. The death rate was abnormally high, corporal punishment was prevalent, a school jail was common, and all Ute children suddenly had to have white dress standards.[17]

The following figure helps explain the slow birth of average daily attendance on the reservation. By 1880, the A. D. A. had reached a high of 18 male students. In comparison to the number enrolled, let alone the possible student candidates, this number is quite small.

This period of time was marked by irregular attendance. Parents did not fully appreciate the value and would remove their children to hunt, visit, or for any other whim. The children were under no kind of restraint or compulsion, but were left free to come or stay away.

I. AGENT J. J. CRITCHLOW

In 1871 a new agent, J. J. Critchlow, moved with energy and foresight to serve the needs of his charges. He thought the only way to make a good Indian was to make a farmer out of him; i.e., settle him down on a piece of land, plow up his field and teach him how to farm. The Indians rejected this premise.

Critchlow did not attempt to hide his feelings concerning the conditions of things when he arrived. He reported:

> My first impressions of the agency were anything but favorable, and I am free to state that had I an adequate conception of its position and condition, I should not have accepted. I found the employees - some of them utterly depraved and worthless - and Indians completely discouraged, having almost come to the conclusion that the agency was about to be abandoned, the latter roaming

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[17]William T. Hagen, American Indians (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

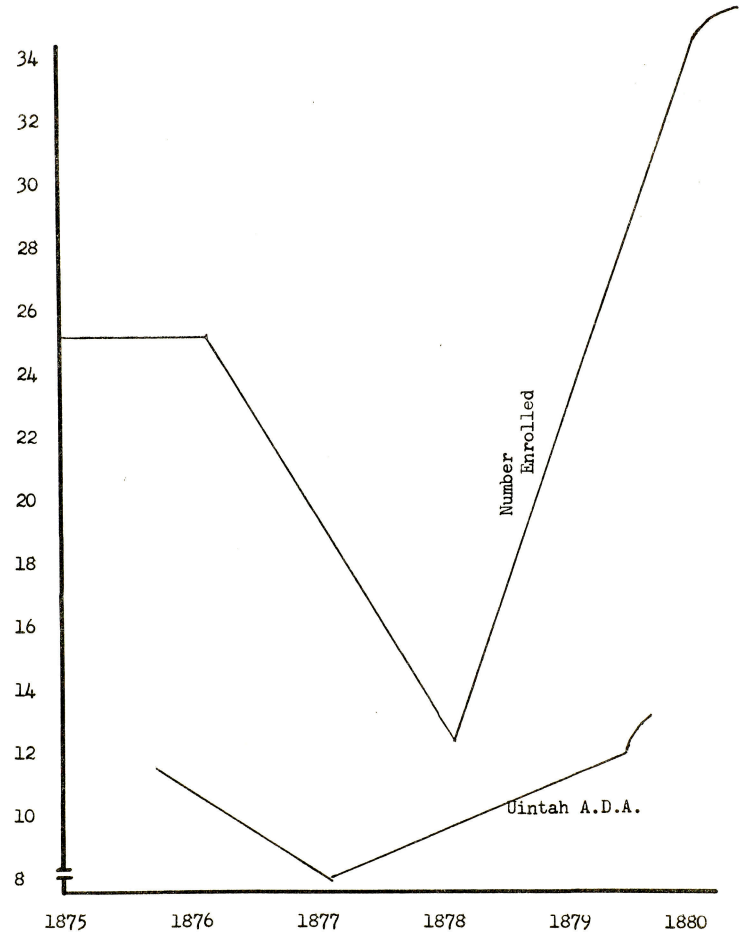

Figure 4. Average Daily Attendance 1875 to 1880

about discontented and hungry.[18]

He also found that the previous reports of all the tillable land at the agency were figments of other agent's inaginations. They existed on paper only. He felt many agents tended towards estrangement of their Indian wards.

With such attacks, all did not care for agent Critchlow. Almond H. Thompson reported in 1871:

> . . . .there is fine wheat in spots. The corn is small and poor, potatoes look well. Garden vegetables ditto. The Indian is heap lazy. I think Major Critchlow seems to be very much disliked by both employees and Indians. "Kutchwano," not good, they say.

He then challenged the entire agency's validity:

> Apparently I am not very much pleased with the success of the attempt to civilize the Indian. The Indians irrigate a little. The bucks make the squaws do the work while they race horses or loaf around the agency. It is costly, the appropriations being $30,000 for the present year. Mr. Baser tells me there are not to exceed 200 Utes on both this and the White River agency. The employees, all without exception, do not seem to care how much stealing is done by the Indians, provided the Mormons are the sufferers. My impressions of the Indians, the agency, are unchanged. The agency as at present conducted is a cheat, a swindle. The Indians do not make good agriculturalist.[19]

On another occasion when some Utes began committing depredations in 1872, Henry A. Morrow, Commander of Fort Douglas, accused Critchlow of imcompetencies.[20] These atrocities, however, were masterminded by

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[18]J. J. Critchlow to Clun, September 22, 1871, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 42d Cong., 2d Session, Serial 1505, p. 545.

[19]Almond J. Thompson, "Diary of Almond H. Thompson, Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 7 (1939), p. 28.

[20]Thomas G. Alexander and Leonard J. Arrington. The Utah Military Frontier, 1872-1912: Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 32 (Winter 1964), p. 333.

Douglas, a White River chief. He persuaded quite a number of the reservation Utes to give up farming, telling them Washington did not intend they should work. He also ridiculed those who farmed calling them "squaws." Douglas hastened to downgrade the school, alluding to it as white encroachments on the young.[21]

Although discouraged by the apparent minor progress, Critchlow was able to report in 1873 "a softening and civilising influence at work, gradually leavening the masses and preparing them for more rapid advancement. (There is a) noticeable advance, but it must be admitted to be slow."[22]

Critchlow, despite his shortcomings, was the one person most responsible for developing formalized education on the reservation. In one report he felt many Utes expressed "a desire for schools, and I am confident that were their physical wants properly cared for, their physical necessities met, schools and missions might be introduced with the most beneficial results. Until this is done; however, I cannot recommend their production."[23]

He recommended in 1872:

> Should the appropriation for the current year be sufficient, that suitable buildings be erected and teachers (a male and a female) be employed, and an industrial school be established as early as practicable. Teachers should be employed at once, so as to prepare themselves by obtaining a knowledge of the Indian

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[21]Critchlow to Walker, September 1, 1872, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 42d Cong., 3d Session, Serial 1560, p. 292.

[22]Critchlow to Smith, September 25, 1873, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 43d Cong., 2d Session, p. 261.

[23]Critchlow to Clum, September 22, 1871, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 42d Cong., 2d Session, Serial 1505, p. 546.

language and character for efficiency in their work.[24]

He was also the first agent to foresee the cooperation of a church board united with the government to provide an adequate Ute educational facility.

II. CRIPPLING EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

The Act of 1873 stating only $6,000 could be used for the school's personnel crippled many schools.[25] Critchlow alluded to this problem in a report of 1874. He stated:

> Many of our Indians have expressed a desire for the establishment of a school. (We have) not been able to put it in operation, but from the want of the necessary funds to erect and furnish the school house and pay a teacher, and our inability to procure a suitable person to take charge. My judgement is in favor of a boarding manual labor school, but I fear our resources will not bear the expense.[26]

Then at a distant land some warring Cheyenne, Kiowa and Arapahoe in 1875 unwittingly started a chain of events which led to the development of the system of nonreservation boarding schools. This period was marked by the building of federal Indian schools and a remarkable increase in appropriations for Indian schooling.

It was not until October 1874 that the first one-room school was officially established on the reservation. It was opened by a

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[24]Critchlow to Walker, September 1, 1872, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 42d Cong., 3d Session, Serial 1560, p. 293.

[25]Laurie Tatum, Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), p. 100.

[26]Critchlow to Smith, September 22, 1874, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 43d Cong., 2d Session, p. 277.

sister-in-law of agent Critchlow at Whiterocks. The school, based upon other similar Indian Bureau schools, was to be staffed with from six to nine civil servants, the number dependent upon the enrollment.[27]

Critchlow witnessed the first opening of the school in 1874, but he found there was more to keeping the school open than merely providing for one. Because of unique problems, the school was discontinued for a year and a half in 1877 and then again in 1880.

The closing of 1877 was foreseen in 1876. For nearly three months very few children were able to attend. The snow proved too deep for the youngsters to attend since no boarding and lodging was provided. During this time it became a necessity to discharge the teacher and close the school. The efforts were not in vain; however, as the children were taught to spell, read, write, sing, draw, copy maps, and make some progress in figures.[28]

The following figure illustrates the number of months the school operated from 1876 to 1880. It should be noted; however, many mothers were very scantily attended.

After being suspended for a year and a half for lack of adequate funds, Critchlow wrote:

> I fear that much of the ground gained has been lost through the want of continued cultivation. For best results (I suggest) the permanent establishment of a manual labor boarding school for both sexes, where the pupils can be kept separated from the body of the

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[27]Daughters of Utah Pioneers of Uintah County, Builders of Uintah (Springville: Art City Publishers, 1947), p. 196.

[28]Critchlow to Smith, September 22, 1874, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 42nd Cong., 1st Sess., Serial 1747, p. 276-277.

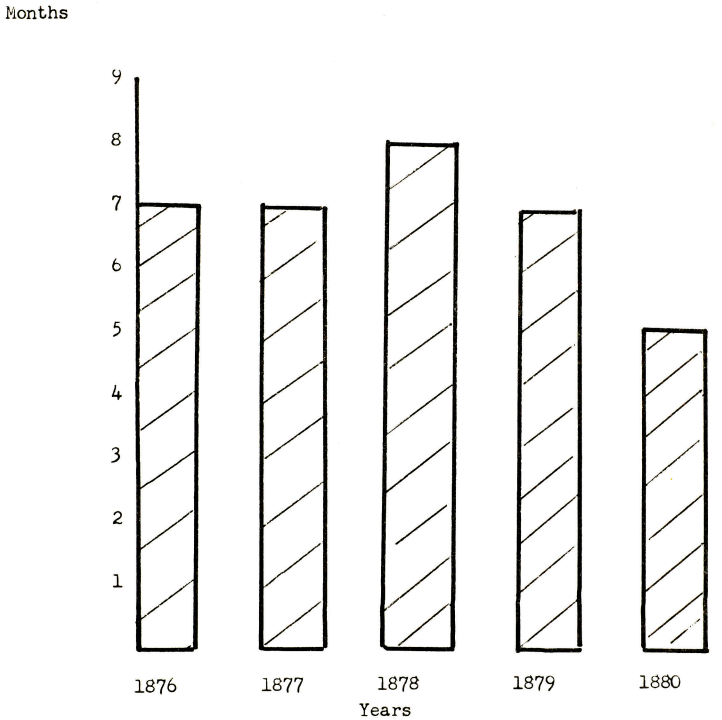

Figure 5. School Term In Months 1876 to 1888

> tribe most of the time and taught habits of cleanliness, propriety of conduct among themselves, and especially among the sexes, and industrial habits. Much, very much, remains to be accomplished. I applied for $500 for reopening the school and employment - granted, hope to reopen (it by) September 1.[29]

Then after a woman teacher labored for about eight months in 1878 at a cost of $350, she resigned. She did gain an acceptance and an influence of the school by the tribes. With her resignation students failed to return until Critchlow adopted a policy of giving the children dinner to induce them to attend regularly. At a cost of $412.37, the school was opened for several months in 1879.[30]

Because of the burdensome labor donated by Critchlow's wife and the teacher, his wife became terribly ill. Consequently the school enrollment decreased and eventually the teacher resigned. Much was achieved; however, during this period. For the first time several "bright" little girls added a new feature giving great promise of usefulness.

The major problem still remained. Although many Ute parents were pleased when the school was in session, most did not fully appreciate its progress or necessity. They did not appreciate the importance of exerting themselves or compelling their children to attend regularly.

With the loss of another teacher due to the impassable weather and the unrest of the Colorado Utes, no suitable substitute was found in 1880 to manage the school. In dire need of help and support,

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[29]Critchlow to Commissioner, August 25, 1877, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 45th Cong., 1st Session, Serial 1749, p. 185.

[30]Ibid., p. 186.

Critchlow appealed to the Presbyterian Board of Missions to cooperate with the department in providing a school. Consequently the new year found encouragement. And so it should with a new building.

The first building, a two storied frame house, was not ceiled or plastered. A portion of it was fitted up for the residence of the agent and his family and the balance for school purposes. The agent's quarters had a wing eighteen feet by fourteen feet both upper and lower rooms.[31]

Even the best buildings could not hold the personnel. It was a wonder the federal government could get and hold as many superintendents, teachers, and other employees as they did because of the poor pay and deplorable living conditions.

Many agents, teachers, and commissioners were poor because they gained their position from personal friendships with officials in charge. Therefore, the vast undertaking of acculturation of the Utes was entrusted to an ever-changing succession of whites. Agents were apparently not cognizant of the fact human nature is exasperatingly stubborn to quick and abrupt change. These observations were reported by several organizations outside of the Indian Office.[32]

In 1876 the Utes became alarmed over a surveying party.

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[31]These figures have been derived from combined Reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1877 to 1883. The Indian area of the United States was divided up for educational supervision into eleven districts each headed by the area superintendent of Indian education.

[32]Curtis E. Jackson, "Land of the Braves" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, 1947), p. v.

Trouble followed when this group began plotting the reservation boundaries. Ute suspicions were further inflamed when they heard that the Uintah Reservation was to be opened to white settlement. Naturally, this type of indignation was to affect the educational climate. It seemed the Indians fears were justified when Ashley Valley was settled by Mormons in 1878.[33]

Nationally from 1865 to 1878 the number of Indian schools in the United States grew from 148 to 366 and the number of teachers from 162 to 417. The money spent for education in 1878 in the United States was $353,125.[34]

For 1879 the average daily attendance of Indian children was reported nationally as 4,488. The Uintah Reservation statistics were proportionally the same.

XII. MEEKER AFFAIR

During the period 1863-1883, the reservation in western Colorado was constantly diminished in area. The movement of miners led to more and more incidents.

The year 1879 was a crucial one in Utah history. In Colorado the White River agency band of Utes (Yamparicas) an abusive and bellicose group, rose in rebellion and killed Agent Nathan Meeker and several of his staff. Major T. T. Thornburgh was sent to punish the hostiles

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[33]Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Builders of Uintah (Springville: Art City Publishers, 1947), pp. 6-9.

[34]U. S. Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners for the Year 1878. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879), p. 7.

but he and 26 officers and men were killed. This band had a history of being warlike. Agent reports considered them uncontrollable and unsafe for any agent who could not meet their every whim.

The Meeker affair brought profound changes to the reservation. This furnished what the whites insisted was a legitimate reason for the removal of the Whites Rivers in 1880 and the Uncompahgre in 1883. As punishment the White River Utes were transferred, under military escort, to the Uintah Valley.[35] Also about 600 of Chief Ouray's Uncompahgre Utes, innocent of any recent violence, were also transferred the following year into Utah to an area adjoining the White Rivers.[36] Captain James Parker of the 4th Cavalry witnessed this Ute removal from Colorado to Utah. He wrote:

> We saw a thrilling and pitiful sight. The whole Ute nation on horseback and on foot was streaming by. As they passed our camp their gait broke into a run. Sheep were abandoned, blankets and personal possessions strew along the road, women and children were loudly wailing. . . .it was inevitable that they should move, and better than, after a fruitless and bloody struggle. They should think too, that the land was lost beyond recovery. . . .And so we marched behind the Indians pushing them out, he (the commander) sent word to all the surrounding whites, who hurried after us taking up the land. They followed us closely taking up and 'locating' the Indian land thrown open for settlement. For obvious reasons it was not desirable to let these civilians come in contact, with the Indians. As we pushed the Indians onward, we permitted the whites to follow, and in three

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[35]Getting the White Rivers to come to Utah was not easy. They had been promised subsistence as soon as they arrived; therefore, a large number vanished.

[36]James G. Hodgran (ed.), The J. S. Hoy Manuscript (Ft. Collins, Colorado: Colorado A. and M. Library, 1952), p. 200. The punishment of the alleged guilty was all the land grabbers could have asked. These two bands were branded as criminals en-masse by a political commission without any judicial powers whatever. Though only 20 braves committed the massacre, all 700 were penalized. All treaty rights were cancelled as they were moved at gun point to what must have seemed the barren lands of Utah.

days the rich lands of the Uncompahgre were all occupied.[37]

The increased Indian population required the opening of roads. Three such were built. One came from Fort Bridger. Another entered from Park City. A third ran from Price.

To manage the Uncompahgres a second agency was established at Ouray, and a military post, Fort Thornburgh, was later founded. Trading posts were opened at both agencies.

The settlement of so many Utes on the Uintah Reservation caused serious frictions between the White Rivers of Colorado and the Uintahs of Utah. Critchlow reported that the White Rivers were "indolent and know nothing of farming or caring for themselves by civilized pursuits, and what is worse many of them have no desire to learn. They laugh at the Uintahs for farming, and say they ought to fight and then Washington would furnish them with plenty to eat."[38]

From the Ouray Agency, Agent J. F. Minniss in his first report said that the Taberguache Band (Uncompahgre) were "orderly, quiet and peacefully disposed with a disposition to their welfare."[39]

Other conditions among the Utes seemed hopeless. In their reports, the agents continually repeated that the land would not support

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[37]Robert Emmitt, The Last War Trail (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), p. 294.

[38]Critchlow to Commissioner, August 18, 1881, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 47d Cong., 1st Session, Serial 2018, p. 215.

[39]J. F. Minniss to Commissioner, September 1, 1882, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 47d Cong., 2d Session, Serial 2100, p. 209.

their charges. They complained that the Indians were suffering from poverty and boredom. Some of the Indians returned to their old homelands to hunt game and gather berries. Naturally, quality education could not progress smoothly on an empty stomach.

XIII. SUMMARY

Classified as being a combination day and boarding school the education on the Ute reservation grew from a very shaky existence to one with firm roots for future growth. Although faced with a myriad of problems, education began to make headway towards the civilization of the older generation. This establishment was actually the first active indication of federal interest in education.

The problem whites of the period failed to realize was that Indian acculturation under the most favorable circumstances was slow. It was the growth of years of a patient culture, and assimilation must be determined by a comparison of distant periods rather than by any sudden exhibition of change at a given time or short period. Education did not fully meet government anticipations, but it did accomplish as much as could reasonably be expected.

During this period, the agency employees and teachers improved greatly. From incompetent swindlers, the reservation personnel grew to exemplify the dedicated educator with appropriate moral character.

Female education was slow in arriving. Older Indians laughed at the idea of educating girls. Once emancipated, females created problems of a coeducational school. Another building for boarding and

lodging was needed and different curricular offerings were essential.

Paralleling the educational improvement was the rewarding achievements on the farms. Indians began to truly fend for themselves via the earth. Even the principal chiefs became earnest advocates of farming.

CHAPTER VI

UTE EDUCATION 1881 TO 1905

I. A NEW RESERVATION

The Uncompahgre were a peaceful cooperative people. They asked how they were to live? The reply was again to irrigate and plant their land and raise cattle. So the Uncompahgre Reservation was set up January 5, 1882 containing approximately 2,000,000 acres. Witherspoon lists the exact figure at 1,933,440 acres.[1]

This reservation joined the Uintah on the east and covered the south three-fourths of what is now Uintah County and also a small part of Duchesne and Carbon Counties.[2]

The country, like many other reservations, was rough with only a little land tillable lying along the streams. Most of the Indians lived in wickiups and cooked their food in the most primitive ways. Cooking stoves were issued by the government, but after a short time they abandoned them and returned to their camp fires. Their vices of polygamy, gambling, and idleness hampered educational pursuits.

Although the school buildings at Whiterocks were completed early in 1890 at a cost of $2,000, the government could not convince Indians to enroll free of charge.

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[1] Witherspoon, loc. cit., p. 3.

[2] Indian Affairs: Executive Orders Relating to Indian Reservations from 1855-1912 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), p. 170.

The unexpected arrival of the Uncompahgre and Whiterivers produced unexpected dilemmas. New tensions arose on both the social and political level. Serious rivalries broke out concerning who would have the authority within the tribe. These problems became so serious that the Uintah band finally left the agency at Whiterocks and went to a place sixty-five miles west. Witherspoon summed it up when he said, "the previous efforts toward acculturation on the part of the Uintahs were largely destroyed by these developments."[3]

II. FORT THORNBURGH

To assist the whites in the area, Fort Thornburgh was created with Captain H. S. Hawkins and his 6th infantry moving in for protection. The eight adobe buildings were located 35 miles from the Ouray Reservation. It was later occupied by Major F. W. Benteen and his negro detachment.[4]

III. MORMON MISSIONARY ATTEMPTS

Mormon missionaries did carry on some service. A. K. Thurber from Richfield was one of the leaders in these teachings. Other prominent missionaries were Thomas M. Rees, Daniel W. Jones, and C. W. Bean. They taught more by example than precept often living among the Indians. Many times the federal agents refused to accept them and

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[3]Witherspoon, loc. cit., p. 37.

[4]Thomas G. Alexander and Leonard J. Arrington, "The Utah Military Frontier, 1872-1912," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 32 (Winter 1964), p. 340.

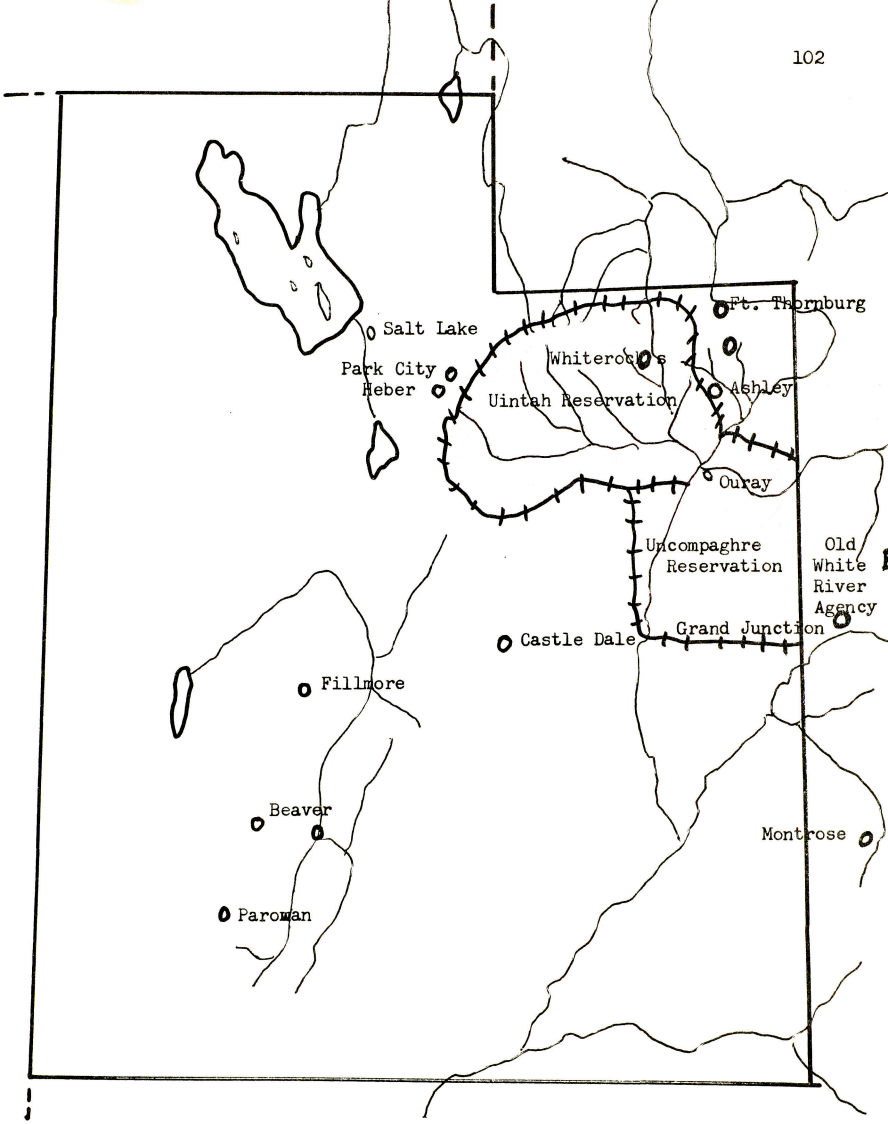

Figure 6. Uintah and Ouray Reservations 1881

on one occasion Jones was even threated death.[5] Of the agents, however, only J. J. Critchlow and J. F. Minniss received them with marked kindness. They taught during the day and preached at night directing most instruction to agriculture.[6]

IV. EARLY FEDERAL EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

The growth in the education program and the increase in federal appropriations warranted centralized administration of education. J. M. Haworth, the first inspector of Indian schools was appointed the first Superintendent of Indian Schools, but within a few months he succumbed to a critical illness. Then his successor John J. Oberly organized the Education Division of the Office of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior. He presented the first comprehensive discussion of federal Indian education. In his annual report he observed that Indian education had evolved without centralized direction, the federal administration service had been inadequate, and the agents were not qualified to serve in the field of education. He discussed the advisability of adopting uniform textbooks and teaching methods and was of the opinion that uniform school buildings were preferable to the adopted makeshift system. In 1885 Oberly prepared a form which required the teaching applicant for Indian schools to state he was a graduate of

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[5]Thomas M. Rees, Mormon Missionary Work Among the Western Indians (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1922), pp. 111, 125.

[6]Edward H. Anderson, "Apostle Lyman's Mission to the Indians," Improvement Era, 3, 1899-1900, p. 512.

an educational institution, held a teacher's certificate, or had received formal training.[7]

V. UTE RESENTMENTS

Special agent E. E. White paid a visit to the Ouray agency in 1886. He found it one of the more remote reservations he had visited. He felt "there are no Indians within the range of my knowledge lower down in the scale of civilization than the Utes."[8]

In 1887, Colonel T. A. Byrnes agreed with White that the Utes "have shown no advance in civilization. They are an indolent, lazy class of Indians, and spend most of their time in gambling, horse-racing, and following the hunt."[9]

Perhaps, concern for the education of the Ute child, should have been commenced a hundred years before the parents were born. In other words, educational pursuits could have succeeded more easily if the parents' prejudices and habits had not interceeded. One problem he found was with the survey of the western boundary line. It showed it to be some miles farther west than it had thought to be. In consequence lands which were believed to be Ute were in Colorado. This, coupled by the theft of money by a dishonest former clerk, had the

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[7]Evelyn Crady Adams, American Indian Education (New York: King's Crown Press, 1946), pp. 53-54.

[8]Eugene E. White to Commissioner, Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Congress, 2nd Session, Sept. 1886, p. 226.

[9]T. A. Byrnes to Commissioner, Sept. 1887, in Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 50th Congress, 1st Session, p. 200.

Utes on verge of outbreak. White found the agent extremely incompetent and that a few whites were behind the Indians' threatening attitude. The White Rivers came in ready to fight but White told them their chiefs were to be imprisoned and the reservation taken away if they went on the warpath. White stopped violence by reminding the chiefs that recently Geronimo was being taken to Florida where mosquitoes and alligators would catch him because he had fought the government. As an added precaution, General Crook reached the reservation with four companies of infantry. Later four troops of Negro cavalry came and camped midway between Whiterocks and Ouray thereby establishing the post of Fort Duchesne.[10]

Fort Duchesne was established to keep the Indians from attempting to stop settlers from settlement. To accomplish this task, it was mandatory that all three bands of Utes be consolidated here.[11]

VI. MORGAN-DORCHESTER ADMINISTRATION

By 1889 Thomas J. Morgan became national Commissioner and under him Daniel Dorchester became Superintendent of Indian Schools. They made field tours to gather first-hand information. Their reports found that twelve out of every twenty schools had never before been visited, teachers were incompetent, and there was poor sanitation and health standards being practiced. Because of these efforts a code of

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[10]Eugene E. White, Experiences of a Special Indian Agent (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1893), pp. ix-xxiv.

[11]Executive Orders, loc. cit., p. 168.

rules for all schools was drafted, courses of study recommended, and the merit system implemented.

Agents were pressured to build a good average daily attendance of Indian children. Attendance became mandatory and the agent was held responsible for keeping the schools filled. They therefore used consent if possible or force if necessary. Several occasions show that rations or annuities were withheld until attendance improved.

Dorchester recommended severe measures at times to accomplish his aims. Pupils over 12 years of age who were guilty of extreme misbehavior might either receive corporal punishment or be imprisoned in the guard house. School jails made their appearance. In Utah, other events continued to hamper educational programs however.

By 1890 virtually all the good agricultural land had been taken up under terms of the Homestead Act. The residents naturally turned their attention to the neighboring rich lands of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation.

In response one Indian from Spanish Fork reported that the whites treated the Ute "just as shabby as they always did. We get rations once a week. (It was) just enough to exist on, TB was their most trouble. After they were confined, they contacted TB mostly, and especially in the schools."[12]

VII. PRESSURES FOR UTE LAND: PHASE I

Pressures on the Ute land mounted. The settlers of Heber Valley

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[12]Duke Oral History, #267. Norma Denver with Jasper Pike. 1969, p. 4.

were already using the land for grazing. In fact the cattleman felt very much chagrinned at being compelled to pay a grazing fee and caused much trouble because of it. The discovery of gilsonite on the reservation occurred about the same time. These groups applied intense pressure to get Congress to give that land over to mining, an effort in which they were ultimately successful.

VIII. DAWES ACT

By 1887, the Dawes Severalty Act was passed. The newspapers of Utah were asking that the Utes be allotted in severalty, and the rest of their lands opened to settlement.[13]

Historically the practicality of the act was far removed from the implied policy which partook of the then-existing but, nevertheless, waining theory of rugged individualism.[14] In fairness, however, it did place great emphasis on educational pursuits.

Authorizing the president to cause any reservation to be surveyed and allotted, the act became the basis for the following half century of Indian legislation.

The Indians of all three Ute groups expressed their dissatisfaction to the allotment policy. One chief, Red Cap, spoke: "the

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[13]Duke Oral History. #196. Norma Denver with Muse Harris. 1968, p. 16.

[14]This act was approved by President Cleveland February 8, 1887. It was revolutionary in that it changed the character of Indian land ownership from communal to individual, an inversion beyond the comprehension of a primitive people. It was hoped in the 25 year trust period the Indians would be educated up to a proper appreciation of land possession and value; however, most quickly sold their lands and spent the proceeds, Salt Lake Tribune, June 29, 1887; March 6, 1898; and June 7, 1897.

streams, the land, and the timber upon the mountains, you cannot take that away. These things are a part of the earth and they are heavy, you can't move them or lift them. I don't care how big you are."[15]

IX. FINANCE OF INDIAN EDUCATION

In the first year of this decade, the national appropriations for Indian education was only $60,000. It jumped to $1,179,916 for 1888. This figure coincides proportionally with the Ute allotments. The following figure helps present the financial costs per student on the Ute reservation.

Thomas J. Morgan, Commissioner in 1889, is given credit for establishing education as a fundamental principle underlying the United States government's entire Indian policy.

X. THE STUDENTS

Once mastering the difficult English language, the handsome Ute child was considered by the early agents to be quite bright and intelligent. At times agents reported boastfully they were cheerful, obedient, and industrious with much affection for each other and their teachers.

Ute students were young, averaging six to fourteen years of age. Consequently, most were too small to perform heavy labor. They married very young as was Ute custom thereby stealing some of the better

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[15]Curtis E. Jackson, "Land of the Braves" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, 1947), p. ii.

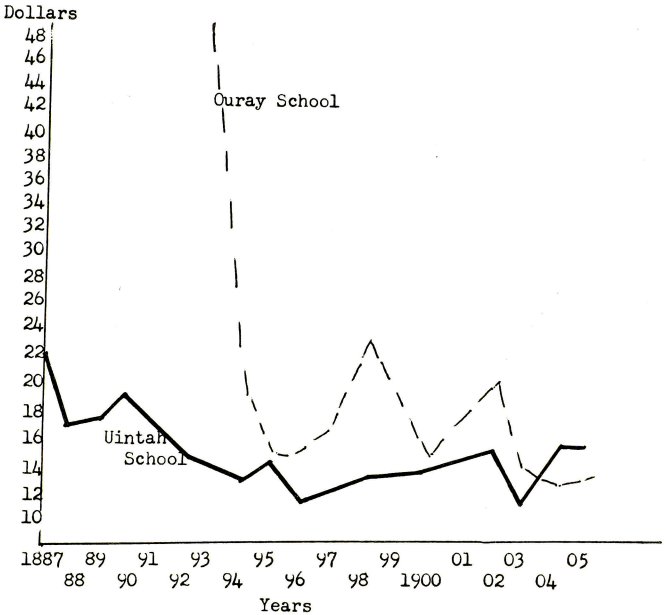

Figure 7. Cost Per Capita Per Month for Schools 1887 to 1905

scholars from the reaches of the teacher and failing to civilize them. Because of national guidelines, the teacher had to offer more classes in the curriculum besides vocational tasks. Their unusual curiosity was used to good advantage in fostering interest in the subjects.

One major problem encountered was a need for social instruction, much more so than a history of their own country or any other. William A. McKewen emphasized, on a visit to their homes, that they were:

> . . . typical little savages, arrayed in blankets, leggins, and gee-strings, their faces hideiously painted, growing up in all the barbarism of their parents. A few years more and they will be men and women. . . little can be hoped from them after grown and matured, wedded and steeped in the vices of their fathers. It is rather the little children that must be taken in hand and cared for and nurtured, for from them must be realized the dream, if ever realized, of the philanthropist and of all good people, of that day to come when the Indian, a refined cultured educated being, will assume the title of an American citizen, with all the rights, priviledges, and aspirations of that favored individual.[16]

The picture was to change. By 1896, they were reported in the agent reports as being wonderfully transformed in appearance and they were greatly advancing in school knowledge. At all times, however, the agents made the point that this improvement was only possible when the children were detached from the old Indians, especially the medicine men.

Although some agents reported the Ute child as being not as bright as white children, this attitude changed when the roadblock of language was removed from their path. These children were felt to possess bright minds. New pupils entered every day. Most newcomers

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[16]William A. McKewen to White, August 14, 1886, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 49d Cong., 2d Session, p. 228.

were not able to speak a word of English. Even when making satisfactory progress in mastering the English language, they often returned home. When thrown once again into contact with their home associates they naturally regressed and acquired acceptable English very slowly.

Utes displayed excellent aptitude in copying blackboard exercises. This industriousness astounded more than one teacher or agent. Naturally, because of their cultural lag, teachers were required to exert continual patience and effort with much reviewing. A visit home would undo much of the good done. Many teachers tried to reason with the older generation. Reason with the older Indians failed to achieve any constructive incentive for their children, however.

III. FEMALE EDUCATION

The Ute males had a tremendous prejudice against females functioning in the brave's domain. This accounted for their reactions to early female education.

It was not until 1888 that a few brave parents forsook Ute custom and brought their little girls to the agency school. During this year fifteen small girls were gathered in.

Eventually, the girls proved to be by far the better workers and far more industrious than the boys. Yet, it was hard for the employees to convince the Ute men that he ought not to put the hardest work upon the Indian women. It never occurred to him to be polite to his women.

Although the female progressed rapidly in education during this period, she was to return to a life of absolutely no dignity.

There was nothing for her but to enjoy and suffer as best she may. By the end of this period, the Ute female was far from gaining the respect her white sister cherished. Yet educators realized that this procedure was a major way to save the fruits the school produced. How to accomplish this task confused all.

XIII. PARENTS

The Ute parents were an ignorant and superstitious lot when it came to education. They feared harm might come to their sons and daughters while at school. It was a very real concern to them.

Their belief that a dwelling must be burned if a death occurred within it brought grave concern when child after child died in the schools. Superstition was bound to thrive and education suffer.

Among the older Indians, as a rule, a strong dislike existed in sending their children to school. This was due largely to the natural dislike of mental application and necessary confinement. They failed to comprehend the advantages of an education. The ablest and most influential men among them had none. The Uncompahgres especially were extremely slow to give up their children therefore many children remained in the filthy wickiups.

Prejudice existed among the older men especially the medicine men against children attending school. An agent asked one Ute the reason. He said, "if we send our children away to school, squaw heap cry all the time. Ute squaw heap like her papoose. Ute boy no

understand white man house, mebbe so die."[17]

Whenever Ute parents agreed to allow their children to attend, they considered it a special favor upon the agent and teacher. It was more a reluctant favor than from any good which they might receive.

Because the stubborn older Indians would purposely go to the mountains with the opening of school and hide, there was much discussion about taking Indian children by force, and not consulting the adult's wishes. This venture scattered the families from the agency breaking up the school. Backwardness and the parents' determination to take their children home for every imaginable excuse hindered the school's progress.

Even when their children attended, the Ute parents paid frequent visits to the school. These were discouraged when it was found their only object was to lie around the buildings, get full of bread and meat, and then put mischief into the minds of the children.

To add to the misfortunes of the school, distrust and anxiety became increasingly prevalent. Rumors of vicious land speculation by some Utah politicians threatened a sacking of their reservation. This feeling could not help but antagonize feelings toward the white man's schools.

Agent Myton related:

> Indians as a rule are very much opposed to education and I have a continual scrap with them from the time the schools open til they close in June and getting the children in school and keeping

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[17]J. F. Minniss to Commissioner, August 13, 1883, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 48th Cong., 1st Session, p. 138.

them there after they are in, my Indians do excellent work in everything except in bringing children to school. [18]

It was apparent that a display of force was needed against the parents to increase the enrollment, especially when unforseen illness and death struck the schools. This continual scrap would remain throughout the period.

XIV. HEALTH OF THE STUDENTS

One of the major disadvantages affecting the schools was the recurring epidemics of white man's diseases. Starting as early as 1888, a malignant type of chicken pox was reported. As soon as most of the school community recovered from this, almost every child was stricken again by a measles epidemic.

Year after year reports were filed with the commissioner of Indian Affairs declaring deaths in the schools. These deaths naturally bolstered the Ute superstition of not entering a building where there had been death.

In all fairness, when sickness occurred in the school, many deaths were also attributed to the same disease on the reservation.

Other sicknesses causing death during these years were consumption, tuberculosis, la grippe, scrofula, tonsilitis, and pneumonia.

Once sickness appeared within the school, the children were generally returned home. It was not until 1904 that a school hospital was provided. At home the children generally were treated by the medicine

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[18] Myton to Commissioner, August 28, 1900, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 56th Cong., 2d Session, p. 391.

man and conditions progressed from bad to worse. In December 1901, more than half of the school came down with measles and one died of tonsilities. The next morning all the patients were taken by their parents and placed at the hands of the medicine men. It was even necessary to dispatch a troop of cavalry to stop the school buildings from being burned by the infuriated Indians. From exposure in the wet wickiups four died. "Their medicine men were to be found everywhere practicing their fiendish arts. It was a very common thing to hear the tom-tom and the barbaristic howl of the medicine man at night, and the death wail from the same wickiup in the morning."[19]

Father Joshua Terry of Draper related what the Indian medicine man really did for their tribes. He said, "in real sickness the medicine man was called. He was always deformed in some way from birth and usually spiritually minded. He offered a few simple herbs, did much rubbing (and sucking the skin) chanted incantations etc. until he was convinced there was no hope."[20]

Although there was an able physician at the agency the medicine man generally undid his work. Always the school was blamed for the child's death if at any time he had gone through the doors of the school.

There were several attempts to literally clean up the agency

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[19]E. O. Hughes to Myton, August 16, 1901, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 57th Cong., 1st Session, Serial 1871, p. 382.

[20]Enoch Jorgensen, "Customs and Legends of Utah Indians," Improvement Era, Vol. 16 (1913), p. 664.

and school for health reasons. The biggest effort came in 1898 when the inadequate facilities for the sick were improved. The open human sewerage on the ground was ploughed under and some out houses built. Even individual hand towels were provided to stop eye irritations and scrofula. Great effort was expended to improve conditions; however, the following table illustrates very little progress.

XV. ATTENDANCE

The complete backwardness in sending their children to school was a definite handicap to the schools. This coupled with a determination to keep them home taxed the teacher's ingenuity to the limit. Even Indian employees were guilty and many were discharged from service for refusing to place their children in school. Others had favors withheld for the same reason.

Although the school began with thirteen enrolled in 1881, the first two months saw the number diminishing until not a pupil remained. This proved extremely discouraging to the employees. Part of this failure must be attributed, however, to the inadequacy of the head teacher. After he resigned, the lady teacher had little trouble reenlisting 25 students.

The average daily attendance can be visualized for this period by Figure 8.

Winget points out that the percentage of enrollment in the public schools of Utah in 1890, 1900, and 1905 was 8 percent, 44 percent

TABLE I

DEATHS REPORTED IN THE SCHOOLS 1888 TO 1905

Date	No. Stricken	No. Died	Cause
1888	every child	not reported	measles
1891	most students	not reported	chicken pox, pneumonia
1897	many	3	tuberculosis, la grippe
1898	every child	11	consumption, measles chicken pox
1900	several	3	consumption drowning
1901	more than half	18	tonsilitis measles
1902	several	1	consumption
1903	several	7	consumption unclean water
1904	many	13	no report on reason
1905	several	1	no report on reason

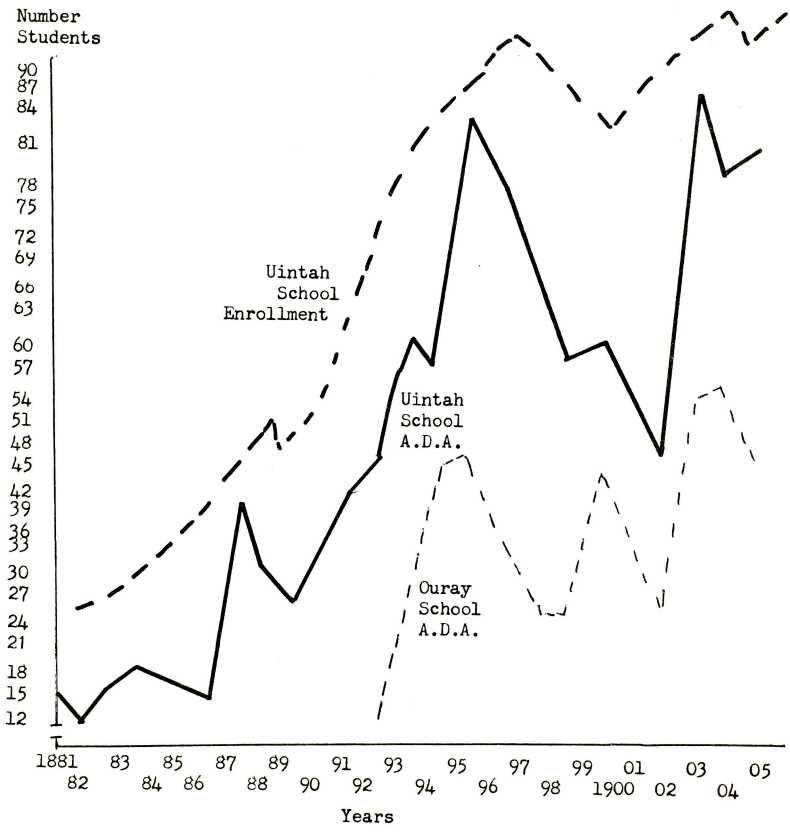

Figure 8. Average Daily Attendance 1881 to 1905

and 38 percent.[21] These figures the reservation schools were able to surpass. At Whiterocks during the same periods it was 54 percent, 65 percent, and 90 percent respectively. Therefore, although small in total number attending, the percentage exceeded that of the public white schools in the area.

The winter months always saw an increase in attendance on the reservation because the older boys were simply needed on the farms in the fall and spring. It was not until 1884 that each agent was required in his annual report to submit a census of the Indians at his agency or upon the reservation under his charge. He also included the number of school children, the number of school houses, the teachers employed, and the attendance of each school.

Most terms at the schools lasted from September 4th to June 27th. During this time there were two vacations of one week duration. Even the vacations did not alleviate the child's natural dislike for school.

To illustrate this dislike we need only to listen to the words of a young lad's relations with the school. He relayed this information to an observer.

> Our father and mother would take us from the ranch over here above Fort Duchesne out to Whiterocks to school. And they had a big board fence way around the school. And we dug a hole down under the fence so we could get away. (They) put us in what they called the playroom before they left. We'd take off. That

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[21] LeRue Winget, "A History of the State Board of Education in Utah With Particular Emphasis Upon the Instructional Program (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, 1962) p. 63.

afternoon they took us each to school again. That night we was back home. We never stayed.[22]

The agents constantly complained of the problems they had in making the children attend. Many foresaw the only alternative was a show of force or military power to gain the required students. William McKewan reported in 1886, "the power should be to force them to give up their barbarous practices, superstitions, and narrow prejudices, and walk in the paths laid out for them."[23]

The Indians, however, mistook kindness for cowardice. It was a waste of time to attempt to reason with them; therefore, a new method was used in an effort to comply with compulsory attendance guidelines. Compulsory attendance for Indian children was authorized in 1890 and the agents felt the political pressure from such a decree. The School Rules of 1890 stated that the government school was merely a temporary provision to serve the Indian until he could attend a white school. Now the Indians saw this school as merely temporary, they might ask why should we attend when it will shortly be removed?

Success began to follow especially when the employees, Indian police, and army officials rounded up child after child from the mountain hideouts. Such was the success that by 1888 the number enrolled far exceeded the capacity. New students were entering each week. By the next year a need was definitely felt at Randlett for additional schools.

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[22]Duke Oral History. #195. Norma Denver with Muse Harris, 1968, p. 16.

[23]William McKewan to White, August 14, 1886, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 49th Cong., 2nd Sess., Serial 1886, p. 228.

Only during periods of severe illness or resentment over the opening of the reservation did the average daily attendance decrease in the latter years. Only one case was reported in this 25 year period of a runaway child.

School was generally conducted in 10 month terms as is found in Figure 9. Some students became well advanced in studies at the basin schools. These students did advance onto higher educational institutions such as Carlisle, Haskell, and the school at Grand Junction. Each of these schools showed Ute students in their enrollment.

XVI. BUILDINGS

There was a contract with the Presbyterian Board of Missions for the erection of school buildings for the Uintah and White River Utes. As early as 1875 teachers working among the Indians conducted little day schools for a few months during the winter.

The first small frame structure called the Uintah Boarding School was not built at Whiterocks until 1885. Costing $800, the building was built to accommodate thirty day scholars. This building was located on the south side of the road that runs east out of Whiterocks.

At this school there was no boarding or lodging provisions. This small one-story school closed its doors after a stormy career of two months in utter failure.[24]

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[24] Daughters, loc. cit., p. 196.

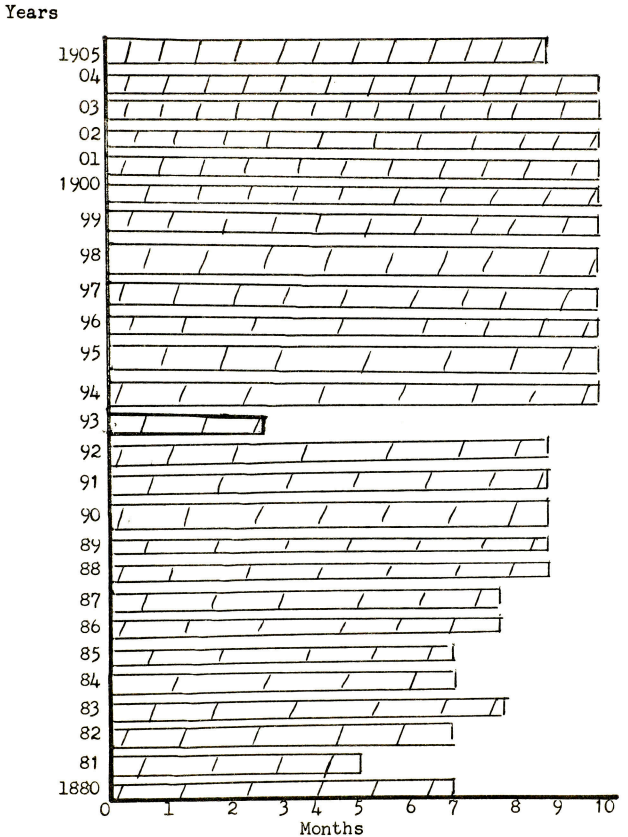

Figure 9. School Term in Months 1880 to 1905

By 1887 D. W. Butler replied the "buildings are not fit for the needs of the agency. They are too small, illy constructed, and not fit to live in during the winter session."[25] It was impossible to warm the building even though 44 students crowded into the confines built for 25. A new and larger building was needed immediately as the wintery winds whipped through the gaps in the boards. At times in the firless dormitories over the shop or warehouse, one could thrust his hand between the boards.

By 1889, a definite need for another building was felt at Ouray. Early in 1890 school buildings constructed of brick were erected at Randlett, and a boarding school opened there. This was four miles south of Fort Duchesne, at the junction of the Uintah and Duchesne Rivers. A boarding school under Kittie Wade Owens as matron was therefore begun for the Uncompahgree.[26]

In October 1891, there came the construction of two commodious buildings at Whiterocks. It was called the Whiterocks Boarding School. It was built one block north of the Uintah Boarding School. They were handsomely located in a perfect lower green as good as any in the service. There was lawn for sixty rods in front with an orchard at its end. A garden of five acres was cultivated among the trees with water flowing through the ditches close by. Two flag poles were erected, one at the school and the other at the agency. The flag was made by

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[25] D. W. Butler to Commissioner, September 20, 1887, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 50th Congress, 1st Session, p. 198.

[26] Daughters, loc. cit., p. 196.

the agency ladies. This style and comfort greatly enhanced the educational capabilities of the school.[27]

At the Uintah school a carpenters shop, play room, storeroom and ice house were added. The grounds were leveled and graded and sidewalks laid. Most of the work was done by the industrial teachers and the male students. Also a badly needed waterline was surveyed.

An improved ditch, six miles long, brought needed water to the school in 1896. A bath house (16' x 36') was constructed enclosing modern bathtubs and a new apparatus for heating the water. Also a laundry (16' x 20') and a root house (16' x 22') were built.[28]

At Ouray, situated 105 miles northeast of Price, 1894 saw the contract let for three two-story brick buildings located on a broad plateau of 5,000 acres. One of these buildings was for recitation and school exercises. One was for a girl's dormitory. Another was for the kitchen, dining, and laundry. Grass was planted and thirty acres of wire and cedar fence were constructed and cultivated by the boys under the supervision of the industrial teacher. The recitation building had stairs with a hall and lecture room above. The second building had a dormitory for the industrial teachers and boys. The third had the kitchen, mess hall, girl's wash room, sitting room. There was a kitchen and dining room above the stairs for the employees and

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[27]June Lyman and Norma Denver, Ute People: An Historical Study. Edited by Floyd A. N'Neil and John D. Sylvester, 3rd Ed. (Salt Lake City: Uintah School District and the Western History Center of University of Utah, 1970), p. 88.

[28]Randlett to Commissioner, November 17, 1896, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 57th Cong., 2d Sess., Serial 8401, pp. 618-619.

apartments for the female employees and girls. The school buildings proper had a small gym. The buildings were located on three sides of a square. In the boys' housing was a bathroom with four sets of tubs.[29]

At both schools, located just twenty miles apart, there was a need for a need for a laundry, barn, house for the school physician, storehouse, workshop, gym, bath rooms, and a water system. Water had to be hauled from the river and to avoid freezing this had to be kept in barrels in the hall. When temperatures fell to 25° to 30° below zero, it proved a hazard to dip the water. Slop and dirt collected in the school buildings because of daily fillings. Also out-houses were needed. The ground surrounding the buildings became so saturated that health practices were hard to employ.[30]

With increasing sickness at the schools, there came a need for a hospital. Facilities were inadequate for the proper care of the sick. Even the buildings began to again suffer from a run-down condition. Many small repairs were needed since the walls were badly damaged caused from leaking eaves. The roofs began to deteriorate from lack of proper treatments. The floors warped, plastering fell from the walls, and a general coat of paint was needed.

The old and filthy outhouses were finally purified by fire and new ones built with a new water ditch running under each one. These were installed in 1901. Along with this sanitation drive came ventilation of the dormitories and schoolhouses for the first time.

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[29]Binford to Commissioner, June 30, 1894, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 55th Cong., 1st Sess., Serial 8401, p. 310-311.

[30]Figures derived from compilations of several reports in the Reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs.

Throughout this period the buildings were lighted by ordinary keresene lamps. These proved dangerous and totally unsuitable. Fire danger became extremely acute.

In 1904 the first school hospital was built at Whiterocks and finally the new water system connected to the schoolhouse. The buildings were enlarged in 1905 in anticipation of the closing of the Ouray school which had been sold as a townsite to land speculators.

Progress was, for the Utes, very slow in maturing even in the erection and improvement of their buildings.

XVII. RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE

The Episcopalian Archdeacon Frederick W. Crook described a service in the basin in 1894:

> On Sunday a most unique service was held in one of the large rooms. To the left sat a group of colored United States soldiers; in the center were the children of the Indian school, surrounded by bucks and squaws with little papooses done up in those odd babyspoons, or baskets, clad in every variety. Around the priest were the white employees, with a few people from the Mormon settlement. Six national ties were represented.[31]

In 1898 two missionaries, Lucy Carter and Sue Garrett, taught at Leland and Fort Duchesne and after 1899 at St. Elizabeth's Church at Whiterocks. Through their efforts at Whiterocks a three-room infirmary was constructed next to the mission home. To compliment their efforts missionaries from Ashley Valley labored at Whiterocks and Randlett.[32]

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[31]James W. Beless, Jr., "The Episcopal Church in Utah: Seven Bishops and One Hundred Years," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 36 (Winter 1968), p. 84.

[32]Lyman and Denver, loc. cit., p. 88.

XVIII. EMPLOYEES

A. General Description

At both the Ouray and Uintah schools, one problem was noteably the personnel. There seemed to always be a myriad of reasons necessitating constant change of employees. With so many changes, systematic training was impossible. Teachers could not hope to learn the disposition and capabilities of the students. This type of management definitely hampered the educational service, when there was much need for tact, patience, and wisdom.

At the Uintah school the Presbyterian Church had the contract to furnish three employees: principal or male teacher, matron, and cook. This church had great difficulty in securing properly qualified employees. Therefore, the school did not open until December for several years. Even when the school opened many employees were unfit for their school positions. In 1888 Fannie Weeks reported that the so-called employees were not only wrangling to a fearful extent among themselves, but were utterly incorrigible.[33]

In 1888 the personnel was increased to a superintendent, teacher, industrial teacher, matron, laundress, and cook at each school. A. Y. Graves, the Superintendent of the Uintah School, managed both schools for several years.

Matters did not improve rapidly. In 1891 two superintendents

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[33]Fannie Weeks to Byrnes, August 6, 1888, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 50th Cong., 2d Sess., Serial 2885, pp. 219-220.

and two matrons were discharged for inefficiency. Later at Ouray during one year there were four different agents and four different superintendents. Many times agents complained that their new industrial teachers knew nothing of farming by irrigation.[34]

In 1895 the school service began to make improvements. From this time forth, the employees were persistently praised for their diligent work. They began to take more interest in their jobs. They made the school more attractive by following closer the Commissioner of Indian Affairs' educational suggestions, and striving for increased attendance. Even Sunday school was attended by most employees right along with the students.

Employees found it part of their duty to make a yearly roundup trip to the upper Duchesne River or other mountain retreat to gather in the children. This naturally presented problems and many times alienated some parents even further.

A major blow to the improvement of employee came in 1901 when Congress reduced the cost per capita for employees from $100 to $80. This reduction in salaries again made the supply of qualified, dedicated teachers scarce. At times following the announcement one teacher could be found in each school instructing all grades, ages, and sizes.[35]

About this time Indians began to appear throughout the service in various positions associated with education. Their value at first

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[34]Robert Waugh to Commissioner, August 21, 1891, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 53rd Cong., 2d Sess., Serial 2888, p. 436.

[35]H. P. Myton to Commissioner, July 30, 1902, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., Serial 1877, p. 352.

was openly questioned especially when even they refused to bring their own children to school.

The final year of this survey found the combination of the two schools. The Uintah School was expanded and the Ouray discontinued thus reducing the staff. The following table gives a comparison of two years of active staff employment in order to better enhance an awareness of costs and salaries.

B. Fannie Weeks

One of the truly fine educators which should be mentioned in passing was Fannie A. Weeks. She was an obese lady from Florida and was superintendent of the Uncompahgre school. Miss Weeks was a most excellent lady and admirably adapted and devoted to her duties and charges. She was effective in improving the quality of education and increasing the school enrollment.

When Miss Weeks took office in 1887, she found not a single child in school. There were no beds or accommodations for lodging the children in the school buildings. The Uncompahgres could not be induced to send any of their children to school and the buildings had been thrown open to the rabble becoming a haunt for the ill-designing bands.

Her own testimonial gives us an insight into the many obstacles:

> The Indians were so violently opposed to sending their children to school that to approach the subject in the most delicate manner was to take the risk of incurring their everlasting enmity. My plan to accomplish this was to go out among them and make myself, as it were, one of them. The agent could not provide me with a horse to ride, therefore, I walked scores of miles, visiting and mingling with them in their "wickiups," and learned many of

TABLE II[36]

EMPLOYEES OF 1896 AND 1905

Name	Position	Salary	Sex	Race	Date of Original Appointment
1896 Uintah School					
J. S. Binford	Supt.	$900	M	W	Aug. 1, 1892
Kate Lister	Teacher	720	F	W	Jan. 1, 1896
Mary A. Cogan	Matron	600	F	W	Apr. 9, 1896
Edyth M. Forney	Teacher	600	F	W	Jan. 5, 1896
Wm. T. Muse	Ind. Tea.	720	M	W	Sept. 1, 1895
Anna M. Duke	Laundress	500	F	W	Jan. 26, 1896
Lillian Malaby	Seamstress	500	F	W	Sept. 1, 1893
Lizzie Malaby	Cook	500	F	W	Nov. 11, 1895
1896 Ouray School					
Chas. A. Walker	Supt.	900	M	W	Sept. 1, 1894
Ruth Edelin	Teacher	720	F	W	Sept. 23, 1894
Albert Rube	Ind. Tea.	720	M	W	Mar. 16, 1893
Elizabeth Belcher	Laundress	500	F	W	Sept. 1, 1895
Cora Van Gundy	Seamstress	500	F	W	Apr. 18, 1896
Kate Cullen	Cook	500	F	W	Sept. 1, 1893
Carrie M. Lawry	Matron	500	F	W	Jan. 10, 1896
1905 Uintah School					
Glen C. Lawrence	Teacher	720	M	W	Sept. 1, 1901
Gertrude Bonnin	Teacher	600	F	I	May 1, 1905
Taylor Logan	Ind. Tea.	600	M	W	Mar. 27, 1904
Mary Lawrence	Matron	540	F	W	Jan. 1, 1904
Ruth F. Bryce	Ass. Matron	500	F	W	Nov. 25, 1902
Mary A. Conrad	Laundress	500	F	W	Nov. 22, 1900
Nora Rosenhauer	Cook	500	F	W	Sept. 6, 1900
Roy Smith	Farmer	600	M	I	May 18, 1905
1905 Ouray School					
Myrtle Waddell	Supt.	900	F	W	Oct. 29, 1900
Oscar M. Waddell	Teacher	540	M	W	Nov. 1, 1900
Campbell Litster	Ind. Tea.	600	M	W	Jan. 19, 1905
J. Etta Hicks	Matron	540	F	W	May 27, 1905
Mamie Noble	Seamstress	600	F	W	Dec. 1, 1900
Jennie Gurr	Laundress	540	F	W	Feb. 6, 1904
Maggie Davis Wilks	Cook	500	F	W	Feb. 18, 1905

[36]Taken from original Indian Affairs records.

> their peculiarities, likes and dislikes. Little by little I overcame their suspicions, and gained their confidence to such a degree that occasionally one of them would allow me to talk school and would promise to send one boy. It was no uncommon thing for me to be far out in the valley (on foot) wholly unprotected, save by a band of braves, or the same of squaws, escorting me from one "wickiup" to another. (They would say) good words for them. In the meantime they were vigilant to see that I left no "bad medicine bags or witchcraft bags." I was attached more than once by fierce, roving Indian dogs, and encountered other dangers equally perilous. In each case I was rescued by the Indians.[37]

On another occasion, one of her boys, John Duncan was reported to be a pet of the teachers. Suddenly there was a tremendous disturbance, tables and chairs hurled about, women were screaming, and children running in every direction. Mrs. Morgan, the seamstress, reported that "little hyena" was killing Miss Weeks and Mrs. Granger, the Matron. Upon arrival the agent found Miss Weeks' dress torn and her face badly scratched and much of her hair missing. In another part of the room Mrs. Granger stood trying to stop a strong flow of blood from her nose. Her dress was almost off and her nose swollen and bleeding.

Crouched on top of the wood box was the scared Ute lad. All that had happened was Mrs. Granger tried to exchange his buckskin for a new suit of clothes. When she stopped to take his hand, he sprang on her shoulders and scratched, bit, and pulled her hair.[38]

Despite these temporary setbacks, Miss Weeks was able to endure and introduce such items as female education, sanitation, and other improvements into the Indian program.

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[37]Fannie A. Weeks to Byrnes, August 6, 1888, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 50th Cong., 2d Session, Serial 2885, pp. 219-220.

[38]White, loc. cit., p. 168-171.

C. Field Matrons

In order for the fruits of the school to remain aglow, continual consultation had to be maintained with the home. In 1892 field matrons were sent out to labor among the mothers, just as farmers had been called upon to assist the fathers. There were many former students at the agencies, camps, and houses, who needed assistance. After school the children found limited opportunities. The possibilities were even further restricted by Ute custom, by consanguinity, and by a lack of knowledge of the outside world. Although trained in school, the youth needed further assistance. This became the job of the matron.

The problem of the Ute child returning home can be seen in the report of Dorchester in 1892:

> The homes in which the Indians live can scarcely be called that name. Since the roving life was given up the tent has given place to the log house--a small, sod-roofed, floorless hut, with one or two dirty windows. In the center of the room is the stove, nearly red hot. Around the sides are bedsteads, boxes, trunks, and parcels of all descriptions. On the walls hang all the clothing the family are not wearing. In the corner is a cozy place for a family of puppies. Near by the ration of meat is piled on the floor and covered with a dirty blanket. At night each person takes his pillow and blanket, if he has a pillow, and curls up in his own corner on the floor. The air in these houses day and night can scarcely be imagined (and) at night the atmosphere is nothing but poison. (These) people who have seldom if ever bathed, who sleep in garments worn for weeks, in bedding stiff with grease and dirt and between valles that have never been washed. Then heat this air to 80° and you have a combination which makes one wonder how any Indian ever lives.[39]

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[39]Merial A. Dorchester to Commissioner, October 1892, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 52d Cong., 2d Session, Serial 8397, p. 601.

XIX. CURRICULUM

Originating as instruction in white civilized manners, the curricular content of the Ute schools grew to rival that of the adjacent white school at Vernal. Such things as bathing, cleaning hair, and brushing teeth evolved into classes of spelling, reading, drawing, morality, and others.

Other specialized courses offered in the schools were: ironing, mending, garment manufacture, care of poultry, calisthenics, simple wood work, writing, elementary figures, geography, and history. Even kindergarten methods were adopted and found successful. This level was followed by five grades of other classwork.

The rudimentary branches of an English education began early. It was necessary to teach the English language before any other school study could be attempted. Object lesson teaching was utilized in most cases. Still it was difficult to keep the children from talking the Ute language.

Milton Hoyt explains that the Third Grade curriculum was as follows:

> General exercises (which lasted for 15 minutes) (involved the classes of) music, civics, manners and right conduct, health, history, geography, gardening, etc.; English (for 70 minutes involved) reading, spelling, language (written and mechanics); Arithmetic (for 30 minutes involving the classes of) writing and drawing; Industrial work (90 minutes involving) gardening, repair work, sanitation, sewing, cooking, housekeeping; occupation work and study (105 minutes); recreation (90 minutes). The time assigned to a subject (indicated) its relative importance.[40]

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[40]Milton Hoyt, "Development of Education Among the Southern Utes," (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, University of Colorado, 1967), pp. 493-494.

The Fourth Grade children received the following instruction:

> General exercises (25 minutes) (involved the classes of) assembly, current events, music, manners, civics; English (60 minutes with classes in) conversational and oral, reading, language, spelling; arithmetic (30 minutes); geography (three lessons per week); Physiology and Hygiene (30 minutes); Writing and drawing (25 minutes); Breathing exercises (10 minutes); industrial work (240 minutes); Physical training (60 minutes); evening hour (60 minutes) (this involved) study, debating, entertainments, religious instruction. Meals, free time, and extra details (6 hours and 15 minutes); sleep took nine hours.[41]

Always routine jobs were included in the school work under the guise of vocational training. Boys were to cut wood for the school and kitchen, keep up the garden, fencing, care of animals, upkeep of the tools, milking cows, feeding livestock, care of buildings, and farming. In their garden grew beans, sugar beets, tomatoes, cabbage, squash, fruit, vines, grapes, currants, plums, apples, raspberries, and gooseberries.

Girls were taught sewing, washing, cooking, general housework, knitting, crocheting, rug making, picture framing, laundering, and other household tasks for complete civilization. The Ute girl was also assigned a family of three besides herself to take care of. Sewing was always the favorite subject of the girls at school.

On a lighter side, social evenings became a prominent feature of Ute education. The students and employees all participated in these attempts at civilization to the enjoyment of all.

When three well-liked teachers, Miss Duke, Miss Malby, and Miss Whitlock returned, it was a time for merriment. The Vernal

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[41] Ibid.

Express caught the festive mood:

> The employees and attachees of the Agency indulged in a masquerade ball on December 29th. On New Year's night Santa Claus visited the school and distributed a bountiful supply of candy, nuts, and toys among the Indian children. The school room was nicely decorated and the Indians were much pleased.[42]

Problems such as inadequate teachers did hamper the school's success. The boys did not always receive as good instruction as they should have. The teachers, especially the industrial teachers, were reported to have far too much work to do and consequently were neglectful of their instructional duties. The constant change of employees likewise confused the children.

Overcrowding tended towards laxity of disciplien. After several profane and immoral superintendents and matrons were discovered, there was suggested a good, systematic policy for discipline. Thereafter, rule by force gave way to the humanitarian approach. When students were asked, "why do you mind your superintendent?", the answer was constantly "because he is stronger than I."[43]

Towards the end of the period, the chief objective became not one of the amount of work done, but the training of the students to perform useful tasks correctly. An effort was made to inculcate in them respect for work and a knowledge of its practicality. Just to grow crops was now not enough. Every step was to be thoroughly explained as well as the various uses of different tools and implements.

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[42] Vernal Express, January 13, 1900.

[43] Chapoose, loc. cit.

Systematic instruction grew in importance. Teachers wanted to provide intelligent working adults instead of mere machines.

XX. SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT

The federal government was to provide the buildings, furnish the rations, and clothe the pupils in school. Each religious board was to then be paid $10.50 per quarter for each pupil taught. This figure made it lucrative to beat the bushes for young scholars.[44]

School supplies were hard to obtain. In the rooms a cloth over a large box served as the dining room table. Food was served in large tin pans, beans in washbowls, and bread in baking pans. Generally, the first scholars ate from a tin plate while sitting on the floor. Manners were at first the major emphasis since an Indian was taught from birth to make a glutton of himself in good times because bad times were just around the corner. A knife, fork, and spoon were introduced and a napkin made of an old sack were thrust upon an alien culture.

When beds could be secured they had but one sheet and a white spread. Boys had no nightshirts and girls no nightdresses. A chair and a washstand, bowl and pitcher, towel, brush and comb sat next to the bed or at least in the room for all to use. Night clothes were rolled under the pillow during the day to provide for more space.

Eventually the dining room received long benches and the bath house even received four sets of tubs in 1892. Tables, bedsteads, and cupboards made a slow appearance. In 1897 over 18,000 articles of

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[44] Vernal Express, January 13, 1900.

clothing, bedding, towels, and other garments were washed in the laundry despite the apparent lack of adequate water.[45]

Actual school room tools were very rudimentary. A slate was generally provided and a long table and benches used.

In comparing the equipment with modern day Indian schools, it was a wonder any progress occurred.

XXI. BEGINNING OF THE END FOR POLITICAL APPOINTMENTS

In 1891 school superintendents, physicians, matrons, and teachers were placed under the classified civil service. The Act of March 3, 1893 let the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, subject to the Secretary of the Interior's approval, place school superintendents in charge of agencies. For a number of years thereafter the agencies were called schools instead of agencies. This was the beginning of the end for political appointments.[46]

Following the industrious Morgan came Dr. William N. Hailman, an eminent educator, as Superintendent of Schools under Commissioner William T. Harris. Hailman was believed that the Indian schools should be replaced gradually by the public school. He also eradicated many outmoded teaching methods, prohibited corporal punishment, and started

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[45]Wough to Commissioner, August 16, 1892, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 52d Cong., 2d Sess., Serial 8397, p. 483. Also in Randlett to Commissioner, June 30, 1897, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 57th Cong., 2d Sess., Serial 8761, p. 285.

[46]S. Lyman Tyler, A Study of the Changes in Policy of the United States Toward Indians, n.d., n.p., p. 13.

an institute program for the improvement of school personnel. Congress followed his lead by ending appropriations to mission schools in 1896.

XXII. PRESSURES FOR UTE LAND: PHASE II

Some land and appropriation frauds were uncovered as the government began moving in on the Ute reservations. Colonel Timothy A. Byrnes of New Jersey found out such problems in Ute land. For instance, the payrolls found 360 Indian names to be fictitious. The agent claimed an additional $3,600.[47]

By the turn of the century action supplanted words and federal, state, and local officials initiated the opening process. Consequently distrust and anxiety were ever present in the minds of the entire Indian population. Schools were felt to be white conveniences to rid the Indian of his land. To demonstrate this, one need only turn to the local newspapers of the day. The Vernal Express of February 27, 1896 states:

> Major Randlett (made) a report in which he upholds the commissioners appointed to treat with the Uncompahgre and Uintah Ute for the purpose of allotting them their lands in severalty and opening the land not required for that purpose to white settlement. He is off base when he says, "the greedy capitalists and their employees are watching for the opportunity to grab and goble up the asphalt and mineral deposits located in the land that will not be required in locating homesteads for the Indians."
>
> Nothing at all has been done toward opening the Uintah reservation, and a handful of lazy redskins hold a large territory of the best agricultural and mineral lands in the state of Utah.[48]

Then the paper of April 2, 1896 follows with:

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[47]White, loc. cit., p. 91

[48]The Vernal Express, February 27, 1896.

> If the Uncompahgre reservation is opened as it should be, it would be but a short time before the snort of the iron horse would be heard in Uintah country and its rich resources opened up to the world.[49]

The express of November 19, 1896 added:

> (The) Honorable Charles J. Hoyt, a member of the Indian commission which was appointed to supervise the opening of a number of the Indian reservations, arrived. (When asked) "are you aware that within the past three months what have been classed as sooners have locations galore on the asphaltum lands of the Uncompahgre reservation?" (He responded with) "I have seen accounts of this in the papers, but I am inclined to believe that the commission will have nothing to do with the matter.[50]

On June 7, 1897 Congress passed an act which provided for a survey of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation in preparation for its opening. A group called the St. Louis syndicate was directly involved.[51]

Perhaps General William T. Sherman was right in describing a reservation as "a tract of land entirely occupied by Indians and entirely surrounded by white thieves."[52] Much of the failure to pursue the continuance of the reservation can be attributed to the slow progress of the Utes in the ways of civilization.

The Utes had truly learned to be farmers of the second rank according to the dictates of the white culture. The schools proved to hasten this progress. However, much still needed to be accomplished. Utes still remained extremely fond of gambling, horse racing, and following the hunt, activities which tend to slow assimilation.

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[49] Ibid., April 2, 1896.

[50] Ibid., November 19, 1896.

[51] Salt Lake Tribune, March 8, 1898.

[52] White, loc. cit., p. 4.

With all efforts at assimilation seemingly unproductive, the government was persuaded to open the reservation. Proponents claimed this to be the only Christian way. Open it and let the new settlers assist the Ute tribe in accepting the advanced civilization.

The local newspaper, the Vernal Express, can lend first-hand information concerning this event. April 5, 1902 the newspaper reports:

> By tacking an amendment for the opening of the Uintah Reservation onto the Indian appropriation bill it is thought that it has a better show of passage. Any old way to get it opened. It matters not to the people.[53]

The same month, it reported:

> With the Uintah Reservation opened for settlement and a through line railroad, Uintah county will be the center of attraction and forge to the front as one of the leading counties of the state.[54]

On May 17th, the people rejoiced.

> The passage of the bill for the opening of the Uintah reservation is hailed with delight by the people of this county in particular. "By and with the consent of the Indians," is the only clause the people are afraid of. Agent Myton is in Salt Lake and is reported as saying he "believes the $70,000 provided for them by the bill asking for the opening of the lands, will smooth over all objections they might have.[55]

Then the whites of the valley rationalized their taking of the Utes land.

> Our friends from the reservation are rapidly adopting the ways of the white men. During the last few weeks they have been pur-

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[53] Vernal Express, April 5, 1902.

[54] Ibid., April 19, 1902.

[55] Ibid., May 17, 1902.

> chasing canvass topped spring wagons, lace curtains, furniture sewing machines, as well as rifles and ammunition. (These are) included among their purchases also, which goes to prove that the Utes are becoming civilized.[56]

On May 27, 1902 Congress authorized an allotment of 80 acres of irrigable land to each head of a family and 40 acres to other members on the reservation.[57] 77,000 acres of irrigated land and 19,000 acres of unirrigated land were distributed to the three bands. Of the 77,000 the Utes sold 23,000 acres and leased 30,000 to non-Indians. Of the remaining 24,000 they farmed only 7,000 thereby justifying the white claim to wasted land.[58]

By late 1903 the United States Indian Inspector James McLaughlin was ordered to the reservation to speed up negotations for the opening. Between May 13 and May 19 he made his presentation to the Ute council. McLaughlin tried to convince the Utes it would be opened with or without their permission. He was unsuccessful.

XXIII. THE FINAL OPENING

The resistance of the Indians, the slow moving bureaucracy, the remoteness of the area, and the difficulty in dealing with the several bands delayed the opening until August 1905. In this act the government

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[56] Ibid., November 22, 1902.

[57] Eli F. Taylor, "Indian Reservations in Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly, Vol. 55 (Fall 1931), p. 29.

[58] Rockwell, loc. cit., p. 256.

quit allotting land to members of the Ute tribe and opened the Uintah and Ouray Reservation for homesteading. In the proclamation of that date, Roosevelt set aside 1,010,000 acres of the reservation as a forest reserve, and 2,100 acres as a townsite; 1,004,285 acres were opened to homestead entry; 2,140 acres to mining claims; and 60,160 acres given to reclamations. The residue, 282,460 acres, was considered unallotted tribal lands.[59]

The Uncompahgre Utes, numbering 672 persons, were allotted 63,915,510 acres on the Uintah Reservation and somewhat more than 8,000 acres off the reservation. The Uintah and White River Utes, numbering 774, all received allotments. The total area was 39,349.84 acres. Heads of families were allotted 80 acres and all others 40 acres of land.[60]

With the opening of the land, the onrush of settlers, and the completion of the Uintah Railroad, the hand writing was on the wall for all Utes to read. The following map can provide the necessary details.

After the reservation was opened, the school lost much ground. Many of the students were transferred to other schools.[61] Most students learned the English language quite well. They also learned a valuable trade such as brick laying or plumbing. Yet most Utes found a continual attraction to the reservation and returned there. A

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[59]United States Congress. Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 59th Congress, 1st Session, Serial 1959, 1905-06, p. 501.

[60]United States Congress, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 59th Congress, 1st Session, Serial 1959, 1905-06, p. 501.

[61]Duke Oral History. Floyd O'Neil with Oron Curry, 1967, #48, p. 5.

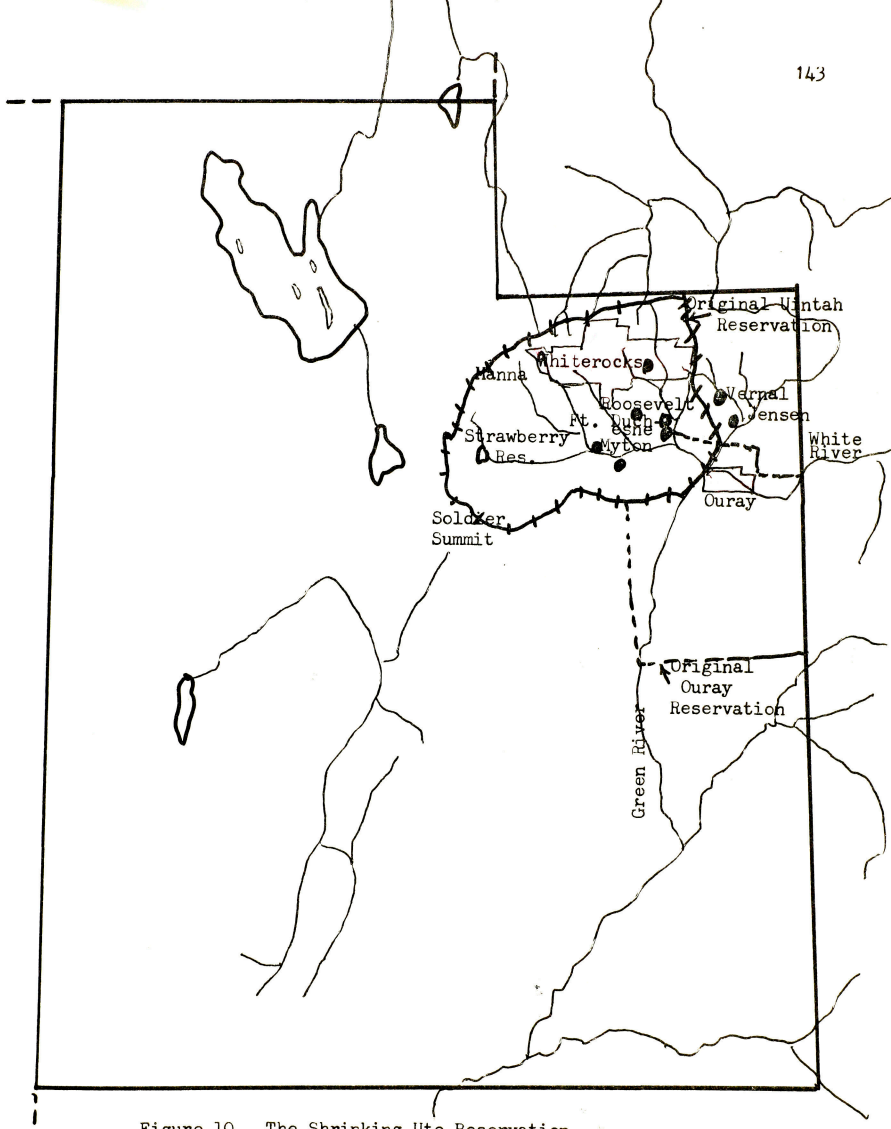

Figure 10. The Shrinking Ute Reservation

boarding school survey reported a strikingly high degree returning to their homes.[62]

XXIV. SUMMARY

The early educators were very discouraged at the results of the schools. They did not know where to place the blame; i.e., irregularity of attendance, too high expectations, failure to secure the best instruments, or failure to adopt the wisest measures to secure the best results. Consequently, many quietly retired from this unheralded Indian profession. In response, Dorchester wrote "the environment is not encouraging and the progress of the pupils slow, but the camp school is invaluable as a civilizing force in the Indian country. Schools were felt to be the genuine leaven which would leaven the whole lump of barbarism."[63]

The years up to 1887 saw intermittent reports of fair progress to dire failure of the school, but from this date forth the system was to make gains.

In 1898 the agent felt the children desired to excell. Just five years earlier they could not write their own names. Many, were now able to do excellent work in the third grade at least. There was improvement when the children were kept from the old Indians.

The Vernal Express of 1898 helps to summarize how the settlers

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[62]Duke Oral History. Chapoose and Boyden. No. 8, 1961, p. 21.

[63]Dorchester to Commissioner, October 1892, in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 52nd Congress, 2nd Session, Serial 8397, p. 608.

of the valley felt about the Indian schools. At least there was cause for hope.

> The number of Indian children registered at the Ouray school is 32. With the facilities there afforded it is a lamentable fact that the number in attendance is not larger. Increased enrollment would make no material difference in the plans, works, and advancement of the school. The labor of the employees must often meet with disappointments and discouragements; but there is no doubt the future will show forth the effects of present labor, and all who so valiently labored in this work of love and civilization, will feel to say: "Our labor has not been in vain," when we consider the position of those laboring in such schools, isolated, deprived of the association of friends, and neighbors to a great extent, it can not but cause every intelligent person to consider this a work of great importance.
>
> The plan of exercises before retiring is one worthy of attention. Every evening all go to chapel for an hour or so after supper. Monday evening is spent in reading or spelling exercises, Tuesday and Wednesday, calisthenic drill, Thursday, singing; Friday, religious and moral instructions are given. Saturday, different games of play alternate with dancing, and Sunday evening services are held at the church. This program in itself can not help but civilize and gradually raise that benighted race from their deplorable condition.[64]

The Ute boys were found, in most cases, to be less industrious and less inclined to total acceptance of study than their female counterparts. The family system of industrial work among the students met with satisfactory progress.

Hindering educational progress throughout the era was the two-headed creature of frequent employee changes and students dropping out of school at the time when real progress was to begin.

Considering the open antagonism of Indian parents toward the white men's schools, which was much in evidence at this time, the growth of school attendance during this decade is little short of

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[64] Vernal Express, April 7, 1898.

remarkable. The annual roundup did help increase the attendance however.

The Indian officials had neither precedent to follow nor instruction books to guide them. Almost all of this early Ute instruction must be classified as an experimental program of education.

Land issues proved so powerful as to undermine the accomplishments of the schools. It was land which they possessed and which the settlers, like in other sections of the country, desired. The fine progress which was made by many Utes in farming proved to be a Jeckyl and Hyde for the Utes. This good progress convinced many whites and Utes alike to settle for allotment. Thus the opening of the reservation would eventually destroy the school system on the reservation.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

I. THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study was to record the major events in the development of Utah Ute education. In particular it was to analyze the general avenues of approach used to solve problems encountered, and to determine the true value of the Ute education by its accomplishments. It hopes to preserve the history of early centralized Ute education (for the use of those interested in either history of education). Furthermore it seeks to analyze the merits of education in acculturation of the Ute Indians; and finally it attempts to provide a basic knowledge of the real problems encountered whenever white man and red man met on the Utah frontier.

II. PROCEDURE

The primary method of research was that of examining original sources and data to fulfill the purposes listed (under the statement of the problem). The Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs offered the author the most notable information. Other special reports from authorities in Utah utilized were found in the L.D.S. Church Historian's Office, Utah Historical Society, University of Utah and Brigham Young University's Western History Centers, and the University of Utah's Duke Oral History collection.

The study was organized by dividing the fifty-eight year period into three designated sections of time. Section One dealt with the period of 1847 to 1865 when the only real education of the Ute was attempted by the Mormon Church. Section Two examines the years 1866 to 1880 during which time the first real signs of education emerged. Finally, Section Three illustrates the development of a fairly reliable educational system of the 1881 to 1905 period.

Because of the changes in cultural traits among the Utes caused frequently by white-imposed influences, tracing certain continuities in their customs were almost impossible. Therefore, history and customs could only assist to establish an insight into their general character.

III. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

General Outcome of Early Ute Education

Though the educational reformers moved with great optimism, the returns from these programs were most disappointing to the friends of the Utes. Witherspoon discovered that this poor performance of the Ute children in schools appeared to be closely related to the social structure of the situation in which the child lives. "A primary area of social relations is within the home. Here the Ute child (learned) those attitudes, ideas, behaviors, and modes of emotional response. He internalized the emotionality which his parents exhibit as they live through various experiences."[1]

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[1]Witherspoon, loc. cit., p. 7.

Other researchers have found that severalty did not inspire the hunter to become a self-sufficient farmer. It did facilitate relieving him of many valuable acres to the satisfaction of the white population which infested the Ute homeland and later reservation. Nor did the earnest efforts of Mormon missionaries spark any wholesale conversion to Christianity, although many adopted certain sections of the new religious cults as their own.

This new civilization of the white man which reservation schools introduced, kept most boys and girls of the Utes between scorning and rejecting conservative elders of their own people, and the fringes of white society.

Mormon Relations

When the Mormons first arrived in the valley of the Great Salt Lake, they found very few Indians. They were, however, to encounter an Indian nation as they commenced their empire designs. At first a sympathetic, paternalistic attitude existed between these new neighbors. It was once an attitude of helping, educating, and civilizing Utes. This quickly became overshadowed when the Indian became restless as the white swallowed up hunting ground after hunting ground. Among the first actions of these religious newcomers were white man's schools, yes, even adopting of Indian children. But soon this patient interest in Ute Redman became wearisome and changed to an attitude of ridding oneself of the burdensome red man to a land far removed from their present immediate surroundings. This change in attitude set back the Ute's education and assimilation for many years.

The Mormon people were no worse than any other group of white men who encountered the red man on the western frontier, but no better.

Hundreds of pages of unimpeachable testimony of Indians testify of it. A terrific toll was paid by the Utes, for they soon lost not only their hereditary rights to their land but their reservation holdings as well. A growing recognition of the incompatibility of the Indian's and white man's cultures, and the existence of a political system enfranchising land-hungry settlers, produced several removals of Indians from their coveted lands. This policy, it was rationalized, could benefit Utes and whites alike. Indian reservations would isolate the redman from contamination of the unsavory white elements which would teach him the traits of a superior civilization transforming him finally into a peaceful, religious farmer. This noble theory proved, however, of little help.

Therefore, the history of the Utes, like other Indian nations encountering the onslaught of the white frontiersman, is a shameful record of broken promises and treaties. In fairness, these records of killings and stealings were witnessed by both white and Ute. Only the white man's diseases permeated the entire Ute tribe unfairly in the period of time from 1847 to 1905.

Receptiveness of the Adult to Education

Educational accomplishments concerning the education of the Ute child could have succeeded much more easily if the parent's prejudices and habits had not interceded. From the first the Ute could not fully appreciate the need for an education, especially if that

education was to create in his child what he personally detested, farming. Consequently, throughout the period a strong dislike for the schools remained.

Backwardness and the Indian's determination to take his child home for every imaginable excuse hindered the schools' progress. Distrust of the school system became increasingly prevalent, especially during periods of rumored land speculation.

Attendance Problems

With the beginning of the school came the child's first real contact with whites. He had, however, acquired ill-formed notions and emotions concerning whites before this new contact. Ute religious ideas, concepts of power, curing illnesses and maintaining health, the belief in supernatural as it is embodied in ghosts and spirits, the definition of a good person, and the Ute perception of the definition of self all influenced his child's punctuality and attendance.

Because of the parents' dislike for schools, the reports of the agents indicated constantly recurring problem of school attendance of the Ute child. Although the average daily attendance increased except during a few periodic slumps, it became a matter of literally dragging children to school. The winter months always showed an increase in educational interests, but as soon as the weather became warm enrollment decreased. Since the Utes mistook kindness for cowardice, agents constantly asked for military force to compel attendance.

Sickness often depleted the school ranks. It became a deplorable

condition. The red man was not too receptive to the white man's diseases. Far too many children died at the schools. If such happened today in any school in the land, it would be considered a severe tragedy. During this period, however, the matter was only lightly touched on by the agents in their annual reports. Only the parents seemed to sense the meaning of their children's loss. Therefore, with death in the white man's schools supported by Ute superstition, children to occupy the schools at Whiterocks and Randlett were hard to find.

Progress of Ute Education

Changing education from informal lessons around the Indian campfires to a fairly modern schoolhouse was a formative task. Consequently, one must assume that despite these odds, good progress was made in this period. To start from nothing and progress as far as the educators and agents did is nevertheless remarkable.

The early educators were mere missionaries who entered the camps or Christian families who took the Ute child to his own home. Once reservations were established, education became more formal. Hampered by great odds, the early employees were poor to say the least. Even the more gifted became discouraged with the irregular attendance, failure to secure proper teaching supplies, or failure to adopt the wisest measures to secure the best results. The language problem always seemed an impossible one.

But as the five grade schools progressed, children continued to improve in many of the subjects so necessary for a white civilization. But again, the frequent change of employees destroyed many

fruits of their labors. It must be remembered that these Indian educators had neither precedent to follow nor instruction books to guide them.

As a rule those who did attend improved. In a marked degree they were influenced by the school. The hopes of civilizing the Ute nation did lie with the schools in this early period. Only here, or through their efforts, can measurable progress be seen for the Ute Indians in the period of time from 1847 to 1905.

The Development of the Educational Program to 1865

To reiterate, the Mormon treatment of the Indians was no worse, but no better than other white encounters. There were harsh environmental conditions, physical problems involved in subduing the intermountain west, and Indian indifferences to the Mormon message. Also a hostility from non-Mormon pioneers and government agents forced the Mormons to curtail, to postpone, or to abandon many of their efforts to inculcate the Indians with a new way of life.

The settlers in this period were forced to conclude that it would take generations of education before the Ute could be transformed into white civilization. The educational progress during this period was very limited at best. Brigham Young's policies regarding the Indians were noteworthy, but many times were not carried out, or were educationally ineffective.

The Development of the Educational Program 1866 to 1880

The education on the Ute reservation grew and prospered. During the time of the so-called day and boarding school, a firm

foundation for future educational growth was planted.

Once again, the biggest problem the whites failed to realize was that Indian acculturation even under the most favorable circumstances was slow. Consequently, the successes scored did not fully meet the agents' anticipations; but it did accomplish as much as could reasonably be expected.

It was during the latter half of this period that the agency employees' and teachers' labors improved greatly. Although few incompetent teachers were still employed, generally, education had cause for rejoicing for the first time.

Young lady students were included in the school system. This was a gigantic step forward especially if one recalls the Ute views concerning woman's place in society.

Developing even faster than the schools were the improvements on the farms. Indians, themselves, began to ask for their own lands. Civilization, or allotment as the white men called it, was just around the corner.

The Development of the Educational Program 1881 to 1905

Although the agents' records up to 1887 contains intermittent reports of fair progress, from this date forth the education in its entirety made measurable gains. Many Utes became able to do excellent work on a third grade level. Others advanced even further, to the ultimate of attending such schools as Haskell and Carlisle.

The major problem hampering progress throughout this period of time was frequent changes of employees. Another concern was students

dropping out at a time when they were within reach of real progress.

A new school erected at Randlett, improvement of school facilities in general at Whiterocks, but in particular up-dating processes and providing better supplies greatly helped improve education for the Utes. During these few years on the other hand, however, rumors of and actual opening of additional reservations undermined the schools' accomplishments.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

The completion of this study brought the following recommendations into the foregound as indicated by the data presented, or its logical extensions thereof. Accordingly, I recommend that:

1. The superstitions and biases of the Ute families be taken into full consideration when providing education for their children.

2. A general history book be written praising Ute heroes and achievements; that this book be used in all schools of Utah where Ute children are taught.

3. A new course be considered by the State Board of Education wherein the history of the Indian people be taught. This would be a course designed not only for the Indian child but the white child as well. Even today's schools are still confronting the problem of Indian assimilation. A course of this design would help promote better relationships among Indians and white students.

4. The Utah Historical Society take under advisement the establishment of a historical site where these former important Ute schools on the Uintah and Ouray Reservation were located.

V. SUGGESTED PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

A list of additional unsolved problems which deserve special attention and further study are:

1. How effectively has the Indian school program for the northern Ute Indians been carried out during the period of 1906 to 1972?

2. How did the opening of the reservation in 1905 affect the educational pursuits of the Ute Indians immediately following?

3. In what type of education did the Utes achieve the greatest progress and in what numbers did they go to such places as Carlisle, Haskell, Grand Junction, and other Indian schools?

4. What adjustments need to be made in curriculum development procedures?

5. What were the policies of the national Indian school board to the Ute tribe during this period of time?

6. How do the attitudes of the Ute parents regarding educational pursuits contrast with that of other Indian tribes in the west?

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APPENDIX A

SUPERINTENDENTS AND AGENTS OVER UTES IN UTAH

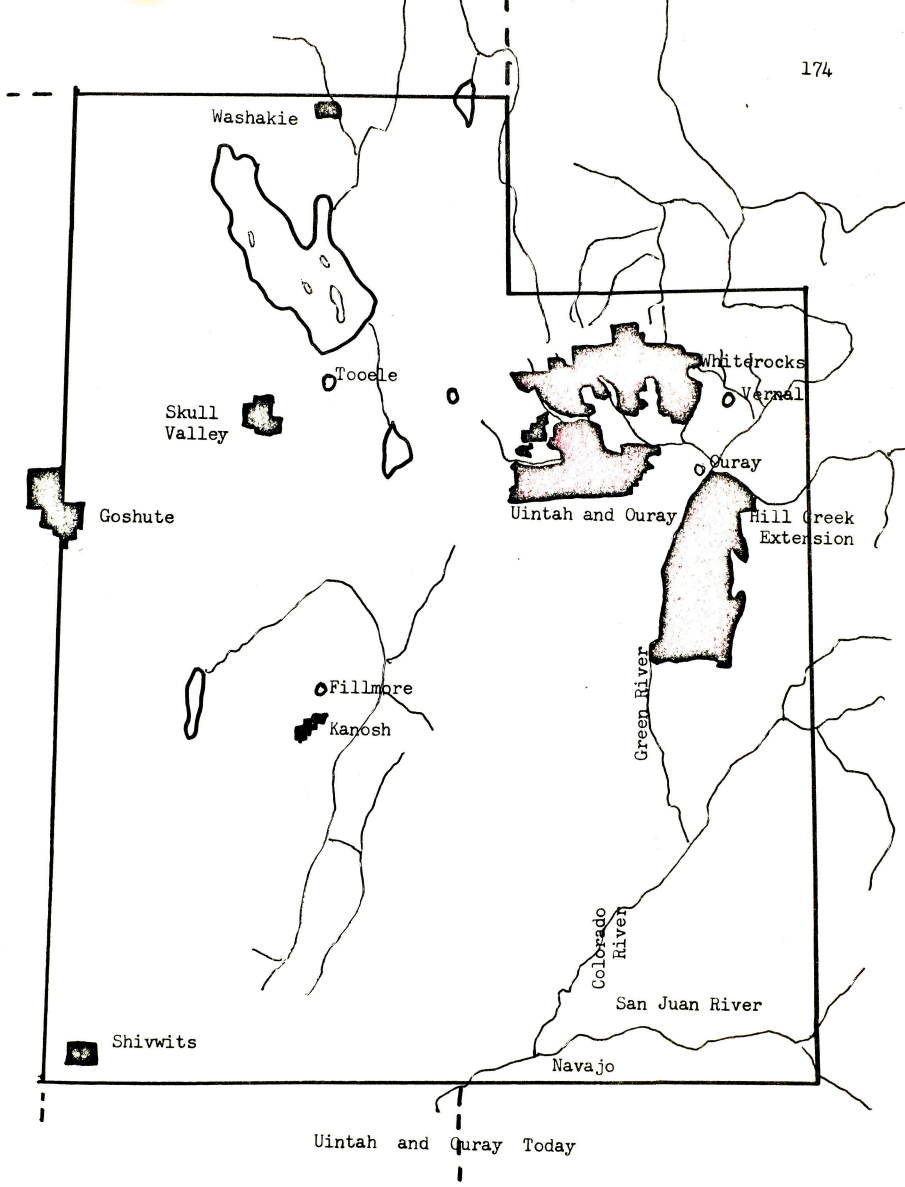
Superintendents and Agents
Over Utes in Utah

Year	Superintendent	Agents
1847		
1848		J. S. Calhoun* (from Santa Fe)
1849		J. S. Calhoun
1850		J. H. Holeman
1851		J. H. Holeman
1852	Brigham Young	J. H. Holeman
1853	Brigham Young	J. H. Holeman
1854	Brigham Young	
1855	Brigham Young	Carlund Hurt, George Armstrong
1856	Brigham Young	Carlund Hurt, George Armstrong
1857	J. Forney	Carlund Hurt
1858	J. Forney	Carlund Hurt
1859	A. Humphreys	
1860	A. Humphreys	A. Humphreys, John Walker
1861	Henry Martin Benjamin Davies	A. Humphreys
1862	James Duane Doty	T. W. Hatch, F. N. Hatch, Luther Mann, Jr.
1863	James Duane Doty	Luther Mann, Jr.
1864	O. H. Irish	Luther Mann, Jr.
1865	O. H. Irish	Luther Mann, Jr., C. W. Sale
1866	F. N. Head	Luther Mann, Jr., Thomas Carter, D. W. Rhodes
1867	F. N. Head	D. W. Rhodes, Luther Mann, Jr.
1868	F. N. Head	Pardon Dodds
1869	F. N. Head J. E. Tourtellotte	Pardon Dodds, George Graffam
1870	J. E. Tourtellotte	George Graffam (Lieu)
1871		J. J. Crithlow
1872		J. J. Crithlow, George W. Dodge
1873		J. J. Critchlow
1874		J. J. Critchlow
1875		J. J. Critchlow
1876		J. J. Critchlow
1877		J. J. Critchlow
1878		J. J. Critchlow
1879		J. J. Critchlow
1880		J. J. Critchlow
1881		J. J. Critchlow
1882		J. J. Critchlow, J. F. Minniss
1883		Elisha W. Davis
1884		Elisha W. Davis, J. F. Gardner
1885		Elisha W. Davis, J. F. Gardner
1886		Elisha W. Davis, J. F. Gardner, Eugene E. White

Year	Superintendent	Agents
1887		T. A. Byrnes
1888		T. A. Byrnes
1889		T. A. Byrnes
1890		Robert Waugh
1891		Robert Waugh
1892		Robert Waugh
1893		E. E. White - Col. Timothy Byrnes
1894		James F. Randlett (major)
1895		James F. Randlett (major)
1896		James F. Randlett (major)
1897		Wm. H. Beck (Captain)
1898		George A. Cornish (Captain)
1899		H. P. Myton
1900		H. P. Myton
1901		H. P. Myton
1902		H. P. Myton
1903		W. A. Mercer (Captain)
1904		C. G. Hall (Captain)
1905		C. G. Hall (Captain)

APPENDIX B

PRESENT UTE RESERVATION



Uintah and Ouray Today

This particular map is found in David E. Miller's, Utah History Atlas.[1]

The present reservation contains part of the original Uintah and Ouray reservation and part of the original Uncompahgre reservation. The total original reservation area of 4,420,914 acres has been reduced in various ways to a present area of 1,010,000 acres. The tribal administration offices are at Fort Duchesne which is located 150 miles east of Salt Lake City on Highway 40.

There are three major towns close to the reservation. These are Duchesne at the extreme west end of the reservation, Roosevelt six miles west of the tribal and agency offices at Fort Duchesne, and Vernal at the extreme east end of the reservation.

The 1956 report on the Ute Ten Year Development Program classifies Ute lands as follows:

Tribal grazing	884,391 acres
Alloted grazing	17,265 acres
Tribal irrigated	11,452 acres
Alloted irrigated	44,609 acres
Tribal timber	6,121 acres [2]

A 1961 unofficial roll shows 1,487 Utes. There were 278 households on the reservation. Seventy-five percent of these households are concentrated in the five communities of Whiterocks, Randlett, Ouray, Fort Duchesne, and Myton with 50 percent concentrated in the first two

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[1]David E. Miller. Utah History Atlas. Salt Lake City: By the author, 1964, p. 7.

[2]Ute Indian Tribe. "Ute Ten Year Development Program." Fort Duchesne, Utah, 1956, p. 82.

APPENDIX C

IMPORTANT DATES INVOLVED IN UTE EDUCATION

IMPORTANT DATES INVOLVED IN UTE EDUCATION

1624 Zarate Salmeron reported earliest actual reference.
1630-40 First contact with Spaniards (introduction of horse).
1670's Treaty. Between the Utes and Spanish for better trading relations.
1707 Treaty. Between the Utes and Spanish for better trading relations. The Comanche were also involved.
1776 Escalante expedition.
1824 Etiene Provost visit.
1825 William H. Ashley visit.
1826 Jedediah Smith reports Ute contacts.
1832 Antoine Robidoux.
1832 Ft. Wintey (Uintah) founded.
1834 Visit by W. Z. Ferris.
1843 John C. Fremont visit.
1847 Mormons enter Utah.
1847 Mary Jane Dilworth's first school.
1847 First missionaries sent to the Ute Indians.
1848 Treaty. Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo giving the land the United States.
1849 Treaty. With agent John Calhoun negotiated at Abiquiu, New Mexico.
1849 Treaty. United States with the Colorado Utes for peace. It failed to mention education. Reservations could be established if needed.
1849 Battle. First Ute skirmish at Battle Creek (Pleasant Grove).
1850 Battle at Fort Utah.
1850 Utah made a territory (Young made governor and Supt. of Indian Affairs).
1851 Decree. Superintendent ordered the Territory divided into three agencies.
1852 Utah Act. Legalized Mormons to take Indian children into their homes, but must send them to school.
1853 Walker War.
1853 Gunnison Massacre.
1854 Treaty. Ended the Walker War.
1855 Agent Hurt marked off land for Ute to cultivate.
1857 Johnston's Army came to Utah.
1857 Mountain Meadows Massacre.
1861 Executive Order. Set apart "the entire valley of the Uintah River within Utah Territory" as the Uintah Indian Reservation.
1863 John Nicolay, secretary to Lincoln sent west to head a commission to deal with the Utes.
1864 Indian Commissioners ordered to collect and remove Indians.
1864 By act of Congress lands were set apart for permanent settlement and exclusive occupance of the Indains.
1864 Mormons asked for Utes to be removed from Sanpete and Uintah Valleys.

1865 Black Hawk War.

1865 Treaty. This treaty guaranteed to the Utes rights on the Uintah Reservation. On March 15, 1869 however the treaty was rejected by the Senate of the United States. Set up education for 10 years.

1867 Most of the Uintah Utes removed to the Uintah Valley.

1868 First permanent agency established at Whiterocks.

1868 Treaty. Signed with the Uncompahgres.

1868 Treaty. With the Tabeguache, Moache, Capote, Wiminuche, Yampa, Grand Rivers, Uintah, and other bands making a reservation in Colorado. The basic document for Ute education.

1868 Grasshoppers wipe out Indian farms.

1869 First annual report filed from the Uintah Valley Agency.

1871 Treaty making abandoned and Ute tribe pronounced dependent nation.

1872 Secretary of the Interior convinces Congress to draw up a new treaty that had no discussion with the Indians beforehand. Indians defeated it.

1874 First one-room school officially established on the reservation.

1875 Carlisle founded.

1875 Several teachers conducted little day schools.

1876 Surveying party alarms Utes.

1878 Ashley Valley settled by Mormons.

1878 Moache, Capote, and Wiminuche bands ceded their right to the confederated Ute reservation established by treaty of 1868 in exchange for bands located on the San Juan River.

1879 Meeker Massacre.

1879 Executive Order. United States established reservation on San Juan River for Moache, Capote and Wiminache.

1880 Southern Ute agreed to settle on lands on the LaPlata River. Uncompahgre agreed to settle on lands on the Grand River near mouth of the Gunnison.

1880 Act. Provided for removal of Whiteriver band to the Uintah reservation and allotment of lands to them in severalty.

1881 Ft. Thornburgh created.

1882 Executive Order. Established reservation for Uncompahgre band in Utah in lieu of land previously designated for them on Grand River due to lack of sufficient agricultural land.

1885 Uintah Boarding School built at Whiterocks. Indian teachers required to receive formal training.

1885 Miners found Gilsonite.

1886 Uintah and Uncompahgre agencies consolidated. Two troops of calvary under Major Benteen and four companies of infantry from Fort Steele and Fort Sidney came to establish a fort.

1887 Dawes Act.

1887 Fannie Weeks era.

1888 First Ute girls enroll in school.
1888 Chicken pox and measles epidemics.
1889 National code of rules drafted for schools.
1890 School buildings at Whiterocks completed.
1890 School buildings at Randlett (then Leland) for Uncompahgres.
1891 Teachers placed under classified civil service.
1891 New buildings at Whiterocks (called Whiterocks Boarding School).
1892 Field matrons sent out.
1894 Three buildings built at Ouray.
1896 Ditch dug to bring water to the school.
1897 Congress authorizes allotments to White River and Uintah Utes.
1898 Uintah Valley Reservation agreement with Uintah and White Rivers by which they consent to sell land for such Uncompahgre Indians as they may move to reservation.
1898 Health push on reservation for schools.
1901 School out houses built.
1901 Cost per capita reduced by congress.
1902 Congress passed on act for severalty.
1902 Report of action taken to comply with provisions for opening the Uintah and Ouray reservations.
1903 McLaughlin Mission.
1904 School hospital provided.
1905 Buildings at Whiterocks enlarged anticipating closing Ouray School.
1905 Uintah and Ouray Reservation opened for White Homesteading.
1905 President Roosevelt withdrew 1,100,000 acres for forest reserve from the reservation.

APPENDIX D

ACT SETTING ASIDE THE UNCOMPAHGRE RESERVATION

ACT SETTING ASIDE THE UNCOMPAHGRE RESERVATION

(Taken from United States Statutes: 900/Indian Affairs and Treaties. Act of January 5, 1882)

Executive Mansion
Washington
January 5 , 1882

It is hereby ordered that the following tract of country in the Territory of Utah, be, and the same is hereby, withheld from sale and set apart as a reservation for the Uncompahgre Utes, viz: Beginning at the southeast corner of township 6 south, range 25 east, Salt Lake meridian; thence west to the southwest corner of township 6 south, range 24 east; thence north along the range line to the northwest corner of said township 6 south, range 24 east; thence west along the first standard parallel south of the Salt Lake base-line to a point where said standard parallel will, when extended, intersect the eastern boundary of the Uintah Indian Reservation as established by C. L. DuBois, United States deputy surveyor, under his contract dated August 30, 1875 thence down the west back of Green River to the point where the southern boundary of said Uintah Reservation, as surveyed by Du Bois, intersects said river; thence northwesterly with the southern boundary of said reservation to the point where the line between ranges 16 and 17 each of Salt Lake meridian will, when surveyed intersect said southern boundary; thence south between said ranges 16 and 17 east, Salt Lake meridian, to the third standard parallel south; thence east along said third standard parallel to the eastern boundary of Utah Territory; thence north along said boundary to a point due east of the place of beginning; thence due west to the place of beginning.

Chester A. Arthur

APPENDIX E

ACT SETTING THE RESERVATION APART AS A MILITARY RESERVATION

ACT SETTING THE RESERVATION APART AS A MILITARY RESERVATION

(Taken from United States Statutes: 900/ Indian Affairs and Treaties. Act of August 31, 1887 and September 1, 1887)

War Department
Washington City
August 31, 1887

To the President.

Sir:

Upon recommendation of the commanding general, Division of the Missouri, I have the honor to request that the following described tract of land in the Territory of Utah, embraced within the limits of the Uintah Indian reservation, created by Executive order dated October 3, 1861 and act of Congress approved May 5, 1864 (13 Stat. 63), may be duly declared and set apart by the Executive as a military reservation for the post of Fort Du Chesne, viz:

Beginning at a point 2 miles due north of the flagstaff of Fort Du Chesne, Utah Territory, and running thence due west 1 mile to the northwest corner; thence due south 3 miles to the southwest corner; thence due east 2 miles to the southeast corner; thence due north 3 miles to the northeast corner; thence due west 1 mile to the point of beginning. Area: six square miles, 2 x 3.

The Secretary of the Interior states that there is no objection on the part of that Department to the use of the tract in question for military purposes (the selection of which is the result of a mutual agreement), provided it be understood that the same be subject to such right, title, and in erest as the Indians have to and in said land,

which shall be vacated whenever the interest of the Indians require it.

A sketch of the proposed military reservation is inclosed herewith.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant.

R. Macfeely
Acting Secretary of War

Executive Mansion
Washington, September 1, 1887

Executive Mansion
Washington
September 1, 1887

The within request is approved and the reservation is made and proclaimed accordingly and it shall be vacated whenever the interest of the Indians shall require it.

Grover Cleveland

APPENDIX F

ACTS SETTING APART THE UINTAH RESERVATION

ACTS SETTING APART THE UINTAH RESERVATION

(Taken from United States Statutes: 900/ Indian Affairs and Treaties. Acts of May 5, 1864 (13 Stat. 63) and May 24, 1888 (25 Stat. 157))

Department of the Interior
Washington
October 3, 1861

Sir:

I have the honor herewith to submit for your consideration the recommendation of the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs that the Uintah Valley, in the Territory of Utah, be set apart and reserved for the use and occupancy of Indian tribes.

In the absence of an authorized survey (the valley and surrounding country being as yet unoccupied by settlements of our citizens), I respectfully recommend that you order the entire valley of the Uintah River within Utah Territory, extending on both sides of said river to the crest of the first range of contiguous mountains on each side, to be reserved to the United States and set apart as an Indian reservation.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant.

Caleb B. Smith, Secretary

Executive Office
October 3, 1861

Let the reservation be established, as recommended by the Secretary of the Interior.

A. Lincoln

APPENDIX G

GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE TO THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE TO THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

(Reported in the Deseret News on December 23, 1857)

Gentlemen of the Council and House of Representatives:

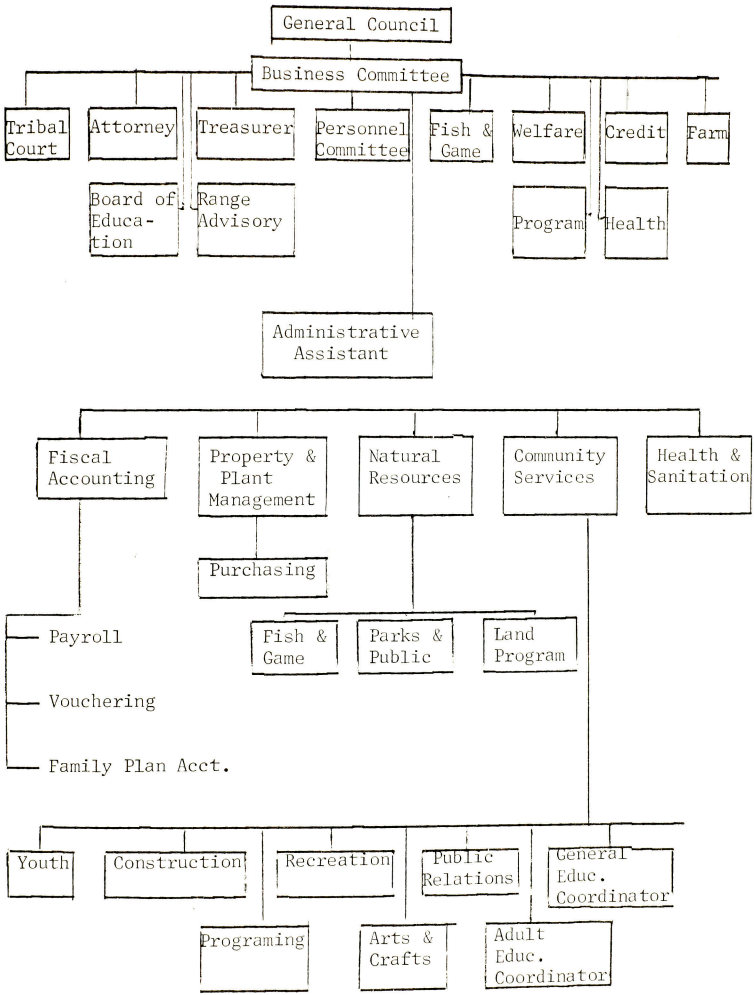
The Parent Government exercises a general supervision over the Aborigines within its borders, yet a brief allusion to the red men within and around Utah may not be inappropriate, the more especially since the expense of their care and support has, from the beginning, fallen almost exclusively upon us, and from present appearances bids fair to do so altogether. However, must we may be disposed to deplore that savage usage which wreak indiscriminate vengeance, still more deeply deprecate that double-dyed villainy of fiendish editors and their lie-loving readers (the Eastern newspapers when settlers moving west killed by Indians, but blamed on Mormons involvement). They would soon learn that the Indians are far oftener, if not always, when difference of education and habits is included; "more sinned against than sinning" (against emigrant bands killing Indians). Yearly imporvement in some of the most degraded Indian tribes upon the Continent strongly prompts me to again recommend the continuance of that humane policy so uniformly pursued by Utah towards her wild denizens, gradually leading them like children in the rudiments of civilization, which has so often resulted and will ever result in saving lives that would otherwise have been and otherwise will be destroyed, and which my judgment dictates to be the wisest, most humane and even cheapest policy that can as yet be adopted.

Brigham Young

APPENDIX H

PRESENT ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF UTE INDIAN TRIBE

PRESENT ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF UTE INDIAN TRIBE *



*Taken from information from the "Ute Ten Year Development Program."